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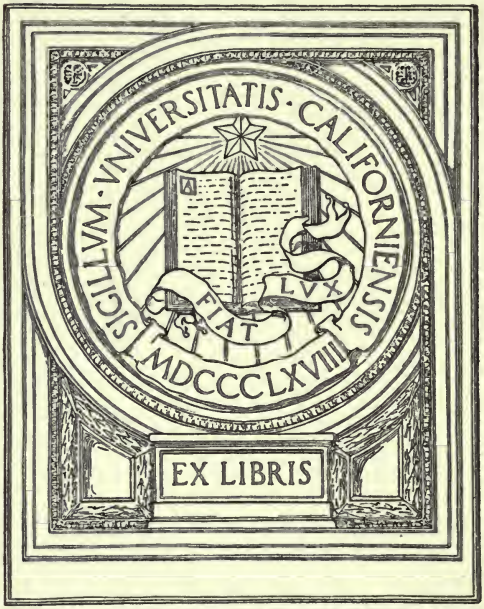

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ON

NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE

IN

THE DUCHY OF SLESWICK

OR

SOUTH JUTLAND.

Allen, Carl Ferdinand
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ON THE LANGUAGE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE DUCHY OF SLESWICK OR SOUTH JUTLAND.

I.

It is first during the latest time that a consciousness of the signification of what is characteristic and peculiar to a people and which is found in every real nation, has been properly awakened. This peculiarity has its foundation, partly in that stamp which a people, from its first beginning, has received from the creator, partly in that series of influences which the people during its historical development has been the object for, either from the exterior nature under which it has grown up, or from the general historical events that have had an influence thereon. Both together form by their operations what is called the nationality of a people. This nationality reveals itself in all the different ways in which the manners and customs of a people express themselves: in habits and customs, domestic life, laws and public institutions, literature and language, and particularly in the last, as the nearest and most direct expression of the public mind. These peculiarities, on the whole, give a certain character to a people, whereby they distinguish themselves from all other nations.

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The consciousness of nationality stands in a near relation to political freedom, whether this has already entered exteriorly, or is only present in the longing after, and a fitness for it. If a people be not yet awakened to any feeling for independence in the political life, they will not trouble themselves much about their nationality. They will only cling by habit to the customs, institutions and language of their forefathers, but not find it particularly mortifying if any damage be done to them, if only the injury be not too violent and at the same time brings with it inconveniences in the course of their daily life. But when the citizen learns to regard himself as being no longer a tool in the state machine without a will of his own, but as an independent member of the political community: then will the language of his nation, its national peculiarities and those particular connexions and institutions arising from its historical development become important and dear to him, because he acknowledges that they belong to his and his nations being, and are the real grounds in which the freedom of political institutions must take root, if they are to gain durability and become a blessing — and just as he himself now respects them as sacred, he will also demand respect for them from others.

It is therefore, that a consciousness of nationality has entered so late in life. It has come *after* or *with* freedom, and therefore only in those countries which have already either attained freedom or are on the way to it. The first French revolution brought freedom to a considerable part of Europe, but in most places the enjoyment thereof was confined to the educated middle-classes and the more wealthy parts of the community. But these belong more to the general European refinement and this

is, just on account of its generality in several respects, rather inimical than favorable for nationalities. Therefore it was not to be expected, that those classes of society who gained most by the first French revolution, would care much about nationality. Nor did they do so. Real popularity must seek its foundation amongst the people themselves. With the second French revolution a further step forward was made, and with the third the freedom of the people gained its decisive victory, as all classes of the people who possessed municipal independence, were also acknowledged as entitled to take part in the management of civic affairs.

It is between the second and third French revolution that the question of nationality has developed itself to its present importance. The meaning of nationality which, on contemplations on the future state of the world hitherto lay entirely out of calculation, has become an universal power, one of the great powers that sets the people in motion and leads them forward in their development. It has shown itself mighty, both to loosen and to bind. It has cast a cleft between the Slavonic and German tribes which nothing will easily be able to fill up, and it has bound the Scandinavian nations together in one fraternal community that promises a bright future to the North.

The question however appeared differently, according to the different conditions of the people. With those nations, — for instance the French, who had no danger to fear for their nationality from an intruded and superior power, the sympathy for nationality showed itself particularly in a zealous occupation with the peoples' history and language, in a care for the preservation of national buildings and monuments, and bringing them forth from forgetfulness, in an endeavour to purify the language

from newly introduced elements and the employment of a number of words from the old vigorous language, in a respect for old national customs and habits and the representation of them through the medium of writings and pictures, and in the publication of the treasures of ancient literature.

In many other parts of Europe where nationality found itself under the pressure of a foreign race, who governed in the land, this question produced one of the most important materials of fermentation for the troubles of the time. Thus in Bohemia and Poland and the many other Slavonic tribes that are incorporated in Germany and Hungary, with the Magyars, with the Flemings and with the natives of Sleswick. Here also, as in other places, they sought to awaken and nourish the national feeling by literary and artistic activity, by keeping the language and the national literature in honour, and labouring for its diffusion among the people. But here were also questions of a still graver nature. It concerned the elevation of a degraded nationality and its release from that pressure with which a foreign people had insultingly and violently burthened it through centuries. Here the matter became more serious and penetrated deeper: the people were moved inwardly, and the combat attained that stamp of earnestness which always accompanies a contest where whole nations rise to maintain a sacred right against protracted oppression.

It is worth while to regard the position a little closer, which Germany has taken up with respect to the national movements that have taken place within its territories or in the neighbouring countries. This position has been quite singular. However divided Germany has always been in itself, and however little effect it may have had

on the course of historical events, when it should be determined by exterior acts and deeds — for in this, Germany has mostly fallen short, and stopped half way — yet it has developed a mighty influence on the general cultivation of mankind, by remarkable discoveries and by going foremost for the development of religion and important branches in the domains of the more abstruse matters of science. It has likewise revealed a remarkable power of extension by propagating its customs and language far beyond its national boundaries. It has no colonies, in the common acceptation of this word, but it has great colonies of language in the other parts of the globe. An immense part of Germany itself is inhabited by Slavonic tribes: the East side of Holstein, the whole of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, East and West Prussia, Brandenburg, a considerable part of Saxony, the whole of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia, Carinthia, Stiria and Istria have an original Slavonic population. All these tribes have been deprived of their language, their laws, their national usages, habits and customs, partly by violence and sanguinary oppression during the many centuries they have been under German rulers. With some the national elements have been entirely rooted out, with others their nationality has only been depressed, not suppressed, as if buried alive until the day of resurrection and retaliation came, which showed astonished Germany that what it thought was long since dead and enshrined, was still in full life and invoked Nemesis.

Germany went over her own boundaries, oppressing the original nationality and language of the population of Courland, Revel, and Livonia. The Germans also forced their way into Denmark and made conquests, which however, when the real circumstances are presented in a

true light, and not as they are deformed by cunning perversions and by a calculated confounding of the popular language or mother tongue and a taught school-language, were in extent much less than one should expect from the neighbourhood of a people who have everywhere shown themselves as the destroyers of language and nationality amongst those foreign tribes they came in contact with. And yet it was supported here in its Germanising endeavours by unusually favorable outward circumstances, but at the same time met with a race that showed a toughness in resistance which was entirely wanting in the Slavonic nations, and in whose character enduring firmness and an affectionate adherence to the customs and usages of their forefathers is such an honorable trait

History cannot exhibit any other nation that has been, to that degree, so destructive of language as the German: led by a certain aristocratic conception of the unequal value of languages, which shows itself in the terms *high* German and *low* German and as if to bring about that national unity in the languages which they wanted in a political relation, Germany has outraged herself on her own flesh and blood. The *low* German was an entirely independent language, and as much used as the *high* German, with an extensive and valuable literature, developed in a number of dialects and branches, diffused amongst a population of several millions, who used it both in daily and public life, in speaking and writing, and as a diplomatic language extending far beyond the boundaries of Germany. The *low*-german, which as a book-language allures the reader by its naturality and beautiful simplicity — directly the opposite of *high*-German — has long since been expelled from literature and the schools, and is more and more supplanted from existence by the

high-German which will not bear anything by the side of it except that which is itself.

When the national movements amongst the Slavonic tribes began to stir with greater power and gained importance day by day, Germany observed a peculiar position. At first it appeared as if she would not notice them, as if the whole had no particular importance, but would soon fall of itself. Afterwards when a whole Slavonic literature arose, when distinguished scholars treated the language and history of Bohemia and other Slavonic lands in comprehensive and erudite works, when important literary memorials of the ancient Slavonic literature were again brought to light, when a successful endeavour showed itself to unite several of the separated Slavonic spoken dialects in one language: — then the Germans took it from the literary and learned side: — it was an interesting literary phenomenon; a new and great field, that was opened for exploration; they likewise disputed about one thing and another, warned the Slavonians leniently, not to fall to any partiality and above all to take good care not to transfer that to life and the real circumstances which might have its rights within the domains of literature and research. But the Slavonic authors went further: they spoke, not alone with pride about the ancient glory of the Slavonic tribes, but also with acerbity about their present oppression, about the debasement of the language and nationality, about the wrongs which the Slavonians had been compelled to suffer from the Germans from time immemorial, nay, they even ventured to speak of a unity of the Slavonic nationality in opposition to a German unity, and a future for the Slavonians which was painted in such colours as in no way pleased the Germans. The latter now answered with contempt: the Slavonians have

never played any part in history, never performed anything great, nor will they ever come to do so; the Slavonians were a spiritually barren race, a sterile field, which could only become something by being fertilized with the rich German spirit; — the German press overwhelmed the leaders of the Slavonian movement with contumely, ransacked their private and public life, made them suspected by the government as dangerous persons, and above all showed the same levity, coarseness and want of truth which it has, since then, clearly shown, to its full extent, in the treatment of the affairs of Denmark and the North. The knot was tightened more and more and now the tie has broken. The Germans drew the sword against the Poles in Posen, and a sanguinary battle broke out, which is not yet ended. The Bohemians, Moravians and several Slavonic tribes declared that they would not acknowledge any unity with Germany, they would have a unity for themselves, a Slavonian kingdom. The Germans answer: Slavonian nationality within the territories of Germany is a chimera, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia are ancient German countries, the rulers of Bohemia have also been German Electoral Princes; besides it is not possible for Germany to acknowledge the demands of the Slavonians, for what should become of that great and united Germany, if nationality should thus be set forth as the greatest and highest aim, if all the Slavonic tribes in Germany should recover their nationality and independence? — The Germans have laid their hand on the sword; but they have bethought themselves before drawing it; for the Slavonians are numerous and powerful, and the combat would be terrible.

Whilst the Germans will hear nothing whatever of the Slavonian nationality they have shown much sympathy

for the endeavours of the Flemings to maintain their nationality against the prevailing French-Wallon race in Belgium. And this not withont reason; for the Flemings are virtually and originally a German race, who, with difficulty, defend themselvelves against the downfall of their nationality which is threatened by the French population of Belgium, whose language is the prevailing one in the direction of state affairs and all public concerns. The Germans have also often spoken here, and at times warmly, but their voice has however been gradually more and more suppressed, as they became observant that, with respect to the precarious situation in the Rhine provinces and its position to France, it was of importance to preserve a good and friendly understanding with Belgium. About Alsace — which however was a worthy aim for great Germany, both because it has here an equally great power to dispute with, and because it would here not be a question of making new conquests, but only to regain what they have lost — there is now and then heard a little, but a very little sound, but it is soon deafened, and the reason is not difficult to guess. About Courland, Revel, and Livonia they have at times spoken a little more loudly and complained of the oppression which the German population is said to suffer in these so-called German countries. The circumstances and state of affairs here are only known from German descriptions, and we are certainly not too bold, when we suppose that there is a little exaggeration in them. So much is certain, that the Germans here, are not the original inhabitants, but have forced their way in, and with violence and sanguinary oppression subdued the land, and afterwards carried on a severe dominion during several centuries. They have therefore only a right to be protected within the boun-

daries they have now once acquired, but have no valid claim to be henceforward the sole rulers over a subdued population.

But the cry of the Germans has been highest and loudest against Denmark which subdues the ancient German land Sleswick with its old German population. — No word in the German language, so rich in strong words, has been strong enough to express the pain and exasperation which Germany feels on account of little Denmark having dared to stand up against the great German nationality and with many artifices and violence endeavoured to expel Germanism from one of its old "districts". Thousands and thousands of newspapers and pamphlets have showered down in Germany, from the one end to the other, with the deafening scream about the wrongs and contumely that Sleswick's German nationality has suffered from fanatical Danes. They have invoked arms in order to save ill treated Sleswick from its Danish oppressors and by incorporating it with Germany — which it long since and for many reasons belongs to by right — secure it from such injustice in future. The call to arms has been obeyed: a Prussian host and armed crowds from the furthest districts of Germany have broken in over Denmarks territories. — They have set up the standard of nationality, and it is a very good and useful flag, for nationality is a powerful word in our days, it finds entrance every where. There is only this critical circumstance, that Germany on this occasion comes in such a strong contradiction with itself. If they turn towards the East, then they say, nationality is a nuisance that must be put down by force; if they turn towards the North, they say, nationality is a sacred right that must be maintained by arms. Towards the East they level their bayonets

against nationality, towards the North they level them *for* nationality. This appears to be a contradiction. But perhaps there is more consistency in the proceedings of the Germans than they themselves will acknowledge. Perhaps it is not quite correct with respect to Sleswick's German nationality, perhaps the flag of nationality that the Germans set up against the North, is a false flag, serviceable to conceal another aim, for instance: — that of gaining a good country, with excellent harbours and a particularly convenient situation for Germany's aspirations and desires to play a part amongst the naval powers of Europe. If now it should on closer examination appear, that Sleswick has in the main point, not a German but a Danish nationality, though much oppressed by the Germans, so there would, as far as the Germans are concerned, amongst other things be thus much gained, that they not only on the present occasion act quite consistently, both in the East and in the North, but also act and have acted entirely in consistence with that principle which goes through their history, namely, wherever they could do so, to suppress foreign languages and foreign nationality. We will now examine this matter more closely in the following chapter.

II.

As soon as the dawn of history begins, and its relations and events gain a more precise form, in the history of Denmark and the North at the close of the eighth century, we find the frontiers of the kingdom of Denmark at the Eider. From the district around this river the Danes began their first serious battle against the Germans, when Charles the Great, during his expedition against the Saxons, marched forward into Northern Germany and at last crossed the Elbe. The example of the subdued Saxons taught the Danes what they had to expect, if they did not in time place themselves in a posture of defence against the advancing conqueror. The Kings of Jutland, Sigfred and his bold brother Godfred, had an eye to the danger. Sigfred gave protection to the Saxon chief Widekind who had fled to him, and supported him in his daring but unsuccessful resistance against the Franks. Godfred himself went out with a powerful army and fleet. He forced his way triumphantly by the Rhine and Elbe, took the fortress which the Emperor had constructed by the Elbe, subjugated Friesland and made such progress that he thought of visiting Charles the Great in his city of Aix-la-chapelle, where he resided. The Emperor was however delivered from this active and dangerous enemy, as Godfred was assassinated by one of his own men.

His less warlike successor Hemming entered into a treaty of peace with the Emperor at a meeting which was held near the Eider in the year 811. The Eider was thereby fixed and settled as the frontiers of the kingdom of Denmark against Germany *). Godfred had however before his death undertaken a work which, just as much as his martial exploits, makes him worthy to be called the first powerful guardian of the Danish frontiers against the Germans. This work was the remarkable *Kurvirke* or *Kurgraven* (from *kure* to guard), a high wall of defence with a single entrance, protected by a moat in front, which he, during Charles the Great's threatening progress in Holstein in the year 808, had thrown up, extending from the Southermost point of Slie-bay, called Selker-Noor, to the river Trene or its arms. This wall was for more than a century a defence for the Danes against attacks from the South, until Thyra Dannebod, Queen of Denmark secured the frontiers by a still firmer and stronger fortified wall of defence, the celebrated Dannevirke, which began at the most Western point of the Slie, a little Northward from Godfred's wall, and ran in about the same direction as it, but further towards the West, to the marshes which surround the Eastern banks of the Trene. In order to complete the works of defence towards the South another wall was still wanting to cover the peninsula of Svansö. — Such a one was found, and without doubt still older than Godfreds, under the name of the old wall or the East wall, which towards the East began not far from the inward bay of Egernfiord, which is called Vindeby-Noor, and in a Westerly direction

*) Adam of Bremen. hist. eccl. Pertzii scriptor. Germ. vol VII, p. 291 Hemming ..... mox pacem cum imperatore faciens, Egdoram fluvium accepit regni terminum.

towards East-beck, which streamlet with its bed in a deep valley, surrounded by steep declivities, formed a sufficient defence for the rest of the way until that bay of the Slie which is called Store-Noor.

By these several defences Denmark was as if closed against attacks from her continental enemies in the South. If the enemy would go round about, on the outside of the walls, on which the sons of the soil, at times in union with their Norwegian brothers, guarded the entrance, he met with invincible hindrances; first towards the East the broad Egernfiord, then, to the West of the old-wall, the Slie which was here also of considerable breadth, and lastly to the West of Kurvirke and Dannevirke impassable morasses extended on both sides of the Trene until they reached the land of the brave Frisians. Besides, at that time the whole extent between the Trene and Eider was waste and uninhabited, filled partly with immense forests, as Eastward Dänischwald, more Westward Jernved, and partly with morasses and endless moors, so that a hostile army, if it passed the Eider, had very considerable difficulties to surmount before it could yet come to the works of defence.

But these fastnesses are not alone remarkable as works of defence, but still more so because they in conjunction with Egernfiord and the Slie likewise formed the *national frontier,* the boundary towards the South, for the Danish people and the Danish language: — North of this boundary all was Danish, South of it all was German, as the waste districts situated to the South of it were by degrees settled on by the natives of Holstein. This national frontier does not however date first from Godfred's time; it can be proved to have existed some centuries before. Namely when the Angles who dwelt in these

districts and had their chief seat around the Slie, began their emigrations to England in the middle of the fifth century, the Danes who lived Northward of these districts went into the deserted land and mingled with the Angles who had remained behind. These two tribes, of whose near relationship the old tradition bears witness, as it makes their progenitors Dan and Angul brothers*), melted easily together and their language equally so, so that there remained but few peculiarities of that which originally separated them.

Towards the West the Danes had the Frisians for neighbours. This once so strong and powerful, but now, at least in a national respect, degenerating race, dwelt along the coasts of the German ocean, towards the South from the Eider, towards the North to Höier, and in ancient times without doubt still further Northwards; towards the East their frontiers extended likewise further than now, and towards the West the sea has taken from them the half or perhaps still more of their original possessions.

If we go a little further forward in time, to the close of the ninth century, we meet with a new witness of the Danish people's boundary. This is the Norman Ottar, who at that time undertook two voyages to the Northern lands and gave an account of them to King Alfred of England. In this account he says about the city of Sleswick, or as it was called in Danish, Hedeby: "That harbour, which they call Hedeby (æt Hædum), lies between the Wends, the Saxons and Angles, and *belongs to the Danes.*"

*) The first words in the work of the old Danish historian *Saxo*, who lived in the twelfth century are: Dan igitur et Angul, a quibus Danorum coepit origo, patre Humblo procreati, non solum conditores gentis nostræ, verum etiam rectores fuere.

Some years later, about the year 934, the political, but not the national frontiers of Denmark, suffered an encroachment for a time, as Henry Fuglefænger *) passed the Eider and after a successful war with Gorm the elder, compelled him to surrender the waste districts between the Slie and the Eider, which were added to the former existing frontier county in the North of Holstein. Adam of Bremen, who lived about a century after this event, adds from a verbal account, that the Emperor placed a Margrave in the town of Sleswick itself and sent a German colony thither. But this account, which in no way agrees with what we know about the erection and situation of Dannevirke, and what we besides know of the later history of these districts, has at length been given up by the German historians, who have long disputed it with the Danish. Dannevirke now continued as before to be the national boundary, and it did not last a hundred years before the above named patch of land between the Slie and the Eider was again united with the kingdom, as the Emperor Conrad the Second again surrendered it to Canute the Great in the year 1027. The Eider thus again became Denmark's frontier, and thus it has been ever since.

Adam of Bremen may still be cited, who speaking as a cotemporary witness, places the Danish people's Southern boundary towards Germany, by the Slie. His words are: "Nearest to us (the Germans) dwell the Danes, whom they call Jutes, right up to the Slie." — It is evident, as well from the words themselves, as because he in another place, somewhat previous, places the Eider as the frontier

*) The bird-catcher.

boundary of the kingdom, that he by the Slie indicates the nation's and the language's boundary.

From what has been adduced it may be clearly seen, that the Danes have dwelt towards the South as far as the Slie and Egernfiord from the remotest times, and that the Eider, for more than a thousand years, with but a short interruption, has been the frontier of the kingdom towards Germany.

But there are other witnesses, just as important as those adduced, for the rest incontestible historical proofs, witnesses which the men of that time have themselves handed down to us and wherein they speak with their own voices to us, their late successors. These are the runic stones with their old northern inscriptions. Several such are found in South Jutland or Sleswick, namely the stone near Haderslev, the stone in the church-yard wall of Biolderup near Aabenraa, and a runic inscription with iron nails in the chapter-house door in Sleswick. The most remarkable and important however for the object we have in view are the two so-called Sleswick Runic stones. They were found in the years 1796-98 on the most historic soil that Denmark certainly possesses, between Thyre's Dannevirke and Godfred's Kurvirke, close by Selker-Noor and near to the hamlet of Wedelspang.

The greater inscription reads thus:
Þurlf risþi stin þonsi himþigi Svins eftir Erik felaga sin ies varþ dauþr þo dregjar (drengjar) satu um Haiþabu, ian han vas sturimadr, drigr (drengr) harda godr.

In the language of the present time it is:
"Thorlef reiste denne Steen, Svends Hjembo, efter sin Stalbroder Erik, som döde, da Heltene sade om (beleirede) Hedeby, men han var Styrmand en saare god Helt."

"Thorlef erected this stone, inmate of Swain after his comrade Erik, who died, when the heroes sat around (besieged) Hedeby, but he was steersmate, a very good hero." —

On the other runic stone the inscription is shorter:

Osfridr gerdi kumbl oft Sutrik sun sin.....

That is in the present language:

"Osfrid gjorde Höi efter Sutrik sin Sön"

Osfrid made (a) hill after Sutrik his son.

These two runic inscriptions, which may certainly be referred to the tenth century, agree in the form of the language with the old northern tongue, which was spoken in all the lands of the North, and the contents have the same peculiarly short and pithy manner of expression that distinguishes the runic monuments. — These inscriptions therefore become undeniable witnesses that the same tongue, which was heard everywhere in the North, has also been heard by the banks of the Slie, and that the popular customs and ideas, and the particular expressions for them, which prevailed amongst the inhabitants of the North on the whole, were also equally at home here.

III.

If we go from ancient times to the following centuries, we find in them, for a long period, only a continuation of the former, we find still in South as well as North Jutland a Danish people, Danish language, Danish manners and customs, laws, constitution and institutions.

The ancient Danish divisions into jurisdictions and districts (Sysler and Herreder) was found already from the olden time in South Jutland. When the North in the year 1104 by the institution of the archbishoprick in Lund was liberated from its former dependence to the Hamburg archiepiscopal chair, the bishop of Sleswick or Hedeby came, as it was natural, under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Lund, as well as the bishops of Odense and Ribe who had certain parts of South Jutland under their direction, and the general ordinances issued by the archbishop of Lund had also validity in South Jutland. As for agricultural matters, the division of land and taxation were the same in South Jutland as in the rest of Denmark. The provincial towns with their aldermen, burgomaster, town courts, townships, town judges, peculiar taxation had their municipal institutions in common with the other Danish provincial towns. About the guilds and the laws of these corporations which played so important a part in the development of the provincial towns, the same remark applies. The constitutional law

and the administration of justice was not different in South Jutland from that of North Jutland or any other provinces of the kingdom. Causes were decided here as well as in other provinces of the kingdom in the court of the district and at the general assizes by jurymen and crown jurors, under the presidency of the commissary or magistrate; and the proofs were brought forward by witnesses or co-jurors, in older times also by the ordeal of hot iron. If the disputants were not satisfied with the decision of the district court and general assizes, they could appeal to the supreme court of justice of the kingdom called Dannehof. In matters of war it was the same as with the other public institutions: what was usual in North Jutland, Sealand and Sconia, was also applicable to South Jutland. The noblemen (hærmænd) were bound to constant military service with their horses, and for this service they enjoyed freedom from certain taxes called Inne, Stöd and Leding. For the sake of the naval force South Jutland was divided, as other parts of Denmark, in certain districts with their steersmen, the inhabitants had the same duties here as elsewhere. The diocese of Sleswick is said to have sent out one hundred and thirty ships on being summoned to the naval armament.

In all these things we meet with pure Danish elements and nothing German.

The most important memorials that belong to a people's nationality are its laws, both by their contents and language. They show what customs and public institutions the people have had, and what language they have used in daily and public life*).

*) In our days, when a considerable part of Danish citizens have been governed, up to the very latest times, by German laws and

The oldest of the South Jutland laws is the elder Sleswick municipal law, given without doubt in the year 1201, which was not alone used in the town of Sleswick, but was also made the foundation of the municipal laws of Sönderborg, Flensborg and Egernfiord; amongst the towns of North Jutland it was admitted for a long time in Horsens and Æbeltoft, and probably in several other places. The oldest manuscript we have is in Latin, but a number of Danish words, which remain standing unchanged in the Latin text, bear witness of the people's language. Perhaps there has also been an original Danish text.

The next is the remarkable Jutlandish law, written in Danish, and received by the people, during the reign of King Waldemar the Victorious, at a general Dannehof or parliament in Wordingborg in the month of March 1241. It was adhibited in North and South Jutland and Funen with the adjoining islands.

The Flensborg municipal law, received by the citizens probably between the years 1284 and 1295 and confirmed by Duke Waldemar the Fourth, is written in Danish.

The Haderslev municipal law given by Duke Waldemar the Fourth in 1292 and agreed to by the citizens, likewise in Danish.

Two appendices are found to the Flensborg municipal law drawn up in Danish, the one in the year 1295 the other in 1321.

And lastly we have the Aabenraa corporation law, given by Duke Waldemar the Fifth, in the year 1335.

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edicts, one cannot certainly draw such a conclusion, but in the middle ages it was very different.

It is in Latin, and has besides a low German text; but the many Danish words that are interwoven with the Latin text, witness sufficiently of the people's language and seem to suppose an original Danish text.

Of Danish laws there are no later to be found in South Jutland than the last quoted, unless it should be the guild-law for St Canute's guild in Flensborg, which with all probability may be referred in its present form to the beginning of the fifteenth century. But there exists a great number of Danish documents and letters written in South Jutland in the first part of the fifteenth century.

The language in which these laws from the middle ages are indited, distinguishes itself only from the Danish of the present day, in so far as it stands nearer to antiquity, which will be evident by some examples:

From the preface to the Jutland law from 1241.

1. Logh scal wæræ ærlic, ræt, tholic, æfter landens wanæ, quemlich oc thyrftælic oc openbar, sua at allæ men mughæ witæ oc understandæ huat loghæn sægher; oc weræ ei görth eth scriuen for ennens manz særlic wild, num efter ollæ menz thirft, ther i land bor. Ængi man scal dömæ geen then logh ther kunnung giuer oc land taker with, num efter then logh scal land dömes oc rættes. Then logh ther kunnung giuer oc olt land taker with, den ma han ei eftertakæ æller skiftæ uten lanzens wili, eller oc hun ware openbare gen guth, oc tho mattæ han æy tha gen landsens williæ *).

*) The law must be honest, right, tolerable, after the custom of the country, convenient, necessary and clear, that all men may know and understand what the law commands; and the law must not be made or written for the particular interest of any man, but for the good of all men, who live in the country. Nobody must judge

From the appendix to the municipal law of Flensborg from the year 1321.

2. Thænnæ skra, thær hær næthæn ær scriuæn, gaf hærtog Erik, hærtogh Waldemar sun, oc böth at scriuæs til theræ annæn skra i Flensborgh, thet aar fra wars hærræ aar thusind wintær och thry hundreth wintær oc en wintær och tiugh, sanctæ Pauls dagh æftær iul.

§ 2. Ollæ the lyus til altær offeræs, thæm skal kirki Præst hauæ; hwa thæm burtför, bætær sum fyrræ ær sauth, och föræ tho the samæ lyus igeen*).

During the disputes which Erik of Pomerania carried on with the Counts of Holstein in the first part of the fifteenth century, about the possession of Sleswick, important information was brought forth respecting that land's nationality. For the King just sought to support his right by proving, that, between South Jutland and the rest of Denmark, there prevailed and always had prevailed a fellowship in nationality, language, laws and the administration of justice. For this object he had juridical witnesses examined at the different assizes of the kingdom, amongst others in Ribe, in 1421, when a numerous

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against the law, that the king gives and the country admits; but after this law the country shall be judged. The law, which the king gives and the country admits, he (the king) must not abrogate nor change, unless it be openly against God; and even then, he must not against the will of the country.

*) This law, which is written below, the Duke Erik, son of Duke Waldemar gave and ordered to be written to the other law of Flensborg, in the year of our Lord a thousand winters and three hundred winters and one winter and twenty (1321) St Pauls day after Christmas.

§ 2. All the candles, that are offered to the altar, belong to the priest of the church, and if any body carries them away, he shall atone for it, as is said before, and besides restore the candles.

assembly met here, both from North and South Jutland, — laymen and churchmen, noblemen and citizens. Amongst those who met were the bishops of Sleswick and Ribe with their chapters, the abbots of Lygum cloister in North Sleswick and Rye cloister in Angel, the burgomaster and town councillors of Ribe, Haderslev, Aabenraa and Flensborg. They made a declaration in the *Thing* or general assembly that Sleswick belonged to Denmark, "— *Which thereby is to prove, that those in South Jutland use Danish laws and have kept them since the law was made. For the second, that all old privileges, which the chapters and God's house have in Sleswick, Ribe and Haderslev, them the kings of the realm have given. For the third, then we know where the frontier boundaries are, that Denmark and Holstein are separated, so much the more, as their language in South Jutland is Danish to this day.*"

The original rjins thus:

"Huilket der aff er at beuise, at de vdi Sönder Judland bruge Dansk ret oc haffue den holdet, siden Loven gjordis. For det andet, at alle gamle Priuilegier, som Capitele oc Guds hus haffue til Slesuig, Ribe, Haderslöff, dem haffuer Rigens Konger vdgiffuet. For det Tredie, da veed mand huor Grentzerne ere, at Danmark oc Holsten skillies adt, til met, da er jo deris Sprock vdi Sönder Judland Danske paa denne Dag."

A few years later, in 1424, when the dispute was referred to the decision of the Emperor Sigismund, the imperial councillor Doctor Louis de Cataneis Veronensis was sent to Flensborg to examine witnesses in the matter. These declarations of all the witnesses, on oath, tend to prove that South Jutland had, and from time imme-

morial had had a language, laws and constitution in common with North Jutland and the rest of Denmark.

The Archbishop Peter Lykke of Lund thus declared — that the same laws, established customs and ordinances, which the inhabitants of the kingdom of Denmark had fixed for themselves were also in effect in South Jutland, in the same manner as in North Jutland; he had seen it thus during the whole of his life, and particularly the last fifty years, which he well remembered.

Bishop Hans Jernskjæg (John Ironbeard) of Roeskilde bore witness that South Jutland belonged to Denmark, because the whole land had one and the same language and used the same laws as North Jutland and the rest of Denmark, and the tribunals employed, both in matters of inheritance and in all other cases the same edicts and established usages as everywhere in Denmark.

Bishop Lage Glob of Viborg expressed himself in the same manner respecting the agreement in the language and laws, and added, that if in a judicial dispute in South Jutland they were not satisfied with the given verdict, the cause was taken before the general juridical assembly of the kingdom in Viborg or to the king's judicial assizes.

Marten Hansen (Johnson), officer in Viborg, made a declaration, that all the provincial towns, and provinces in South Jutland used the same laws and legal provisions as North Jutland; the inhabitants had also the same mother-tongue, with the exception of the Frisians, whose language and laws is different from the others.

Olavus, abbot of Rye cloister in Angel, bore witness, that South Jutland belonged to Denmark, and that the castle of Gottorp, as the proverb ran, was the lock and

key of Denmark's realm. He further declared that South Jutland had the same language and the same laws and constitution as the rest of Denmark.

When he was asked how he knew that to be the case, he answered, that he had been present at the judicial assembly for legal transactions in South Jutland, and seen, that they here exercised and observed the same laws and established customs as in North Jutland.

IV.

In the previous chapters we have gone through the most important points in the history of Sleswick, which have any signification for its nationality, and found it still in the fifteenth century as a Danish land in everything essential, its nationality on the whole unspoiled and inviolated with respect to language, laws, habits and constitution.

Changes had however, taken place for a long time already, in the public situation of the country, which had pernicious results for the language and nationality, and whose effects in the following times become more and more apparent.

The chief point herein, and that upon which all the rest depends, was the transfer of South Jutland as a fief to Count Gerhard of Holstein in 1386.

It is true, Waldemar the Victorious had already in the year 1232 made an enfeoffment of South Jutland to his son Abel, whose successors governed the land as Danish vassals until 1375 when the race died out. But though this became a source for endless disputes and sanguinary and destructive wars, as it also gave the Holstein Counts occasion to intermeddle with the concerns of South Jutland — Abel himself by marrying Mechtilde of the house of the Counts of Holstein so inimical to

Denmark, pointed out to his successors the politics they had to pursue — yet it was without any particular influence on the nationality.

These Danish Dukes governed the country in Danish, the edicts that were published under them, and the municipal laws they either gave, or after the citizens themselves had established them, confirmed, were indited in the Danish language. They had no right to give the general laws of the land, the general body of statute laws was also valid for South Jutland, and the community of law was continued under them, and long afterwards, by the chief tribunals for the whole kingdom, the king's judicial assembly and the Dannehoff or parliament. The Dukes were besides, members of the king's council, and it was their right as well as their duty to meet at the general Dannehoff. The Dukes were also several times recalled within the limits of the bar, which their position as vassals demanded, when they forgot their obligation, and compelled to acknowledge their subordination under the King, their master, and their duties as vassals of the kingdom.

The state of things was however different when Queen Margaret, occupied with the thought of uniting the Northern kingdoms, threatened with an attack from Mecklenburg and King Albrecht of Sweden, and not sure of the Hanse towns, determined to give South Jutland in fief to the Holstein Count, Gerhard in 1386. It was without doubt her purpose to give way only for the pressure of the moment, and afterward, at a favorable opportunity, to take back what circumstances had obliged her to give over, in which proceeding she followed her wise father, Waldemar Atterdag's constant politics. She also made a good beginning for this purpose, whilst she lived, but

her thread of life was cut off too early to carry her plan through, and her successor, Erik of Pomerania, was not able to do it. South Jutland now came into the hands of foreign, German Princes, the Counts of Schauenborg in Holstein, whose whole previous life made them the declared enemies of Denmark. Low German now became the language of the court and government, and also by degrees the language of men in office, in a considerable part of the country, many of whom came from Holstein. New laws and edicts were given in low German, the old Danish laws, both the law of the land and the municipal laws were translated by degrees into low German. It was just at this time, that they had begun to do away with the Latin language in public letters and law suits in Denmark, where it had hitherto been the usual language, and the mother-tongue was adopted in its stead. A similar change took place at the same time or a little earlier in Northern Germany: here the low German took the place of the Latin and became the prevailing diplomatic language to a wide extent. Under the existing circumstances it naturally forced its way into South Jutland from Holstein. Thus at the same time that the mother-tongue again gained ground in the rest of Denmark, it was expelled from public life in South Jutland. Even the country was not allowed to retain its name: the first Count of Holstein, Gerhard, was also the first who wrote himself Duke of Sleswick; the previous Dukes had all called themselves Dukes of Jutland or South Jutland. It is true there also appears in the following times Danish royal-letters or letters patent, as for instance from King Hans (John) and King Christian the Second; but only at times; and of legal documents, deeds of conveyance and extracts of the records of assizes there are not a few in Danish,

even to the close of the sixteenth century, so that Danish, at least in the Northern part of the country, has not been excluded from the tribunals of justice, but at the same time and place there also appear documents in low German. The people's language continued to be Danish.

About the election of Christiern the First in 1460 and the privileges given on that occasion this is not the place to speak in detail. It is sufffcient to remark that the act from the time of its first foundation, as far as it concerned Sleswick, wanted essential conditions for legality, and that its following history is a continual account of its non-maintenance, until it at length died entirely away and lay forgotten for a long period in the diplomatic chest. It was first taken forth in latter times and hung up as a useful flag for revolt. But in its first existence this act became, by that political combination which it brought about between Holstein and Sleswick, an effective means of drawing the latter to the former, and by continually increasing contacts to forward a transformation of the language and introduce German customs and laws. True it is that the act fixed and determined that Sleswick and Holstein should each have its particular constitution, its own legislative diet on Urnehoved and Bornehoved, etc. etc., but for the election of the Prince a common diet was fixed, and this became an excellent point of issue for a further community. In 1469 already, the nobility of Holstein and Sleswick, under a pretence of the prevailing disturbances in the country concluded an alliance for mutual defence, and fixed a meeting, to be held every half year; but Christiern the First found this alliance so threatening, that he dissolved it some years afterwards. But in the course of time the nobles however succeeded, under favorable circumstances, in reaching their aim.

Of all the evils that followed, for Sleswick, from the dominion of the Holsteiners, there was however scarcely anything, that in a higher degree worked unfortunately on the nationality than the intrusion and settlement of the Holstein nobility in the country. The only real and durable conquests which the low German has won from the Danish in the country (in the towns other circumstances co-operated) — is owing to the immigration of the Holstein nobility. Denmark and in some part Sweden, as also Norway, through Denmark, has been overwhelmed by German nobles; therefore one could so much the less expect that the frontier land Sleswick should escape. If we go through the noble families who are now settled in Sleswick, it is a matter of difficulty to find any one, that has not, either come direct from Holstein, or from other parts of Germany through Holstein. And the Germanizing which these emigrants brought with them, was really solid; for they came not alone, but brought with them a number of their dependants and servants to manage and cultivate the land. In the district where these Holstein Lords of the soil established themselves, the Danish tongue was silenced by degrees, and the Danish peasants*) or small landholders became serfs. For villeinage which was otherwise unknown in South Jutland as well as in the rest of Denmark, was also one of

*) The English word *peasant,* does not disignate the Danish word *bonde,* though it is generally employed in that sense, — nor yet does the word *farmer.* A *bonde* is either a small land-owner or, a landholder. If a land owner he generally possesses landed property varying in extent from twenty to a hundred acres, or more. If a Fæste-Bonde or landholder he holds it at a low rental — under the proprietor of an estate or Lord of the Manor — during his own and his wife's life, nor can he or she be dispossessed of it during that time.

those blessings, that followed in the footsteps of the Holstein nobility, and kept itself in those districts where the nobility settled in masses, until the beginning of the present century, when the Danish government succeeded in doing away with it. The district that is here specially alluded to, is the part between Dannevirke and the Eider, also Dänischwald, Svansö (Svansen) and the South East part of Angel, and as far as nationality is concerned, the two last named in particular; for the others may be supposed to have lain waste, for the greatest part, at that time, and to have been first cultivated by the Germans. By early and often repeated mortgages of these parts to the Counts of Holstein even before they were Dukes in Sleswick, the entrance of Germanism was prepared for here.

This advance of the Holstein nobles towards the North and the expulsion of the Danish or Sleswick nobles, can be clearly shown. The question about the possession of the crown lands and the estates of the royal family, of which a very considerable number just lay in the above mentioned districts, was one of the most important amongst the subjects for the continual disagreement between the Danish Dukes in South Jutland and the Kings of Denmark. To this was added the dispute about the admission of franklins, who for their engagement to do military service at their own expense enjoyed freedom from taxation. The Dukes complained in particular that the Kings availed themselves of their right to admit franklins, everywhere in the Duchy, in a manner that detracted from the power as well as the incomes of the Dukes. This affair was arranged by two agreements, as in the year 1313 Erik Menved made over to Duke Erik all the estates in South Jutland belonging to the crown, and in 1317 en-

gaged himself not to take more franklins in the Duchy than those he already had, the Duke likewise promising not to take any of the King's men into his service. The natural results, as one might have expected from these agreements were, that the Sleswick franklins or nobles (for these notions now began to fall more and more together) — would have heen liberated from their connection with the Danish, and that an independent and numerous Sleswick nobility would have formed themselves, as the crown estates, which the Duke had acquired, gave sufficient means to furnish them with fiefs and increase their numbers considerably. But in the last respect matters went very differently.

On the death of Erik, which happened shortly after, his son Waldemar, then a minor, succeeded to the government; but the Holstein Counts, first Count Geert, and afterwards his sons, governed the land entirely, partly by violence and partly by the mortgages they had acquired, until they at length, obtained it as a fief, after Abel's race was extinct in 1375. The formation of an independent Sleswick nobility did not at all suit their plans, a Holstein nobility on the contrary was extremely convenient. The native Sleswick nobility was therefore more and more superseded. Whilst before the year 1325 the names of Sleswick noblemen in conjunction with Danish appear constantly in documents, they disappear after that time constantly more and more and are supplied by those of Holstein. As fiefs for these noblemen the Holstein Counts had abundant means in the crown lands, made over in 1313. Those estates which form the present noble districts in Sleswick, were almost all established in the period of time 1313 to 1459, and as their owners, there appear no others than Holstein families of

the nobility. Besides villeinage these noblemen brought with them from their homes also a privilege of private jurisdiction over their peasants and servants, which at that time was scarcely known by the Sleswick or Danish nobility.

That the natives looked with ill will on the many Holstein nobles, who came into the land, is natural, nor is historical evidence wanting to prove it. A German author informs us that a Holstein nobleman, who in that time had acquired possessions in Sleswick, by marriage, had to suffer much for a long time from the hatred and contempt of the Danes, until he at length, by the advice of his wife, sent for so many of his servants from Holstein, that he could afterwards be in safety.

When we remember that it was the nobles especially, who in 1460 carried the union through, and that the so-called Sleswick chivalry was nothing but Holstein nobility: so we see what lot and part Sleswick itself had in that act. The Danish historian Hvitfeld who lived in the XVI century in speaking of Duke Frederick's (afterwards King Frederick the First's) resolution to allow the Duchies to keep themselves neutral in the war between Denmark and Lubeck in 1509, calls the nobility in Sleswick and Holstein *"den Holster Adel"* (the *holsteinish* nobility) an appellation which, quite correct and strikingly expresses the real state of matters.

It is manifest that the Holstein nobles who had entered the country, such as owners of estates, church patrons, judges and those, who filled the other important offices of the kingdom, must work injuriously on the nationality of the country in manifold relations and in numberless ways. That it has also been an important co-operating cause that the laws were translated

into low German, appears from a very remarkable passage in the preface to the Jutland laws, in 1603, where the translator expressly says, that one of the motives for his undertaking the work was, "that he thereby wished to serve those of the *nobility* who are unacquainted with the Danish language, and who nevertheless, for the sake of their patrimonial estates have a particular interest to know what the Danish laws contain." Next after the dominion of the Holstein Counts and the immigration of the Holstein nobility into South Jutland nothing has affected the nationality of the country more perniciously than the far extended influence of the Hanse towns in Northern Germany. It is well known how the merchants of the Hanse towns, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth century possessed themselves of the entire trade of the North, both of importation and exportation, how they established themselves in the towns of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, where all employment passed into the hands of these foreign traders, and even the public offices in several places were filled, in preference, by Germans; and how they for a long time acquired landed possessions and domineered over the inhabitants. They everywhere left traces of their presence, in language, laws and institutions which were but slowly eradicated. When this was the case in distant and more remote districts of the North, as in Bergen, Gulland, and Bornholm, one can conceive that the effect was not less in Sleswick, where the conjunction with Holstein made the entrance easier. To this may be added the immense crowds of German workmen who at that time, as well as since, poured in over the Northern lands and sought a living and employment here. As the nobles especially, influenced the country, in Svansö and South Angel, the influence of the Hanse towns and

the German workmen was felt most in the towns: the Germanizing of Egernfiord and Sleswick and, though less perfect, that of Flensborg, may for the chief part be ascribed to them.

It was reserved for Duke Frederick, as Danish King called Frederick the First, to dissolve an important tie, which from time immemorial bound South Jutland to the rest of Denmark, and which consisted therein, that the inhabitants in South Jutland could have their legal disputes decided before a higher tribunal in Denmark, formerly the Dannehoff or parliament, afterwards the Danish council of the realm. This fellowship in judicial causes was also an important means of preserving a commonalty in language. But after Frederick the First had dethroned his nephew Christiern the Second by a successful revolt and he himself ascended the throne of Denmark with the assistance of the men of Lubeck and the revolted nobility, he annulled the appellation from the tribunals in Sleswick to the Danish council of the realm, at a meeting in Kiel in 1524; he likewise determined that the annual diet should not be held longer at Urnehoved but in Flensborg. This had for a result that the small landholders lost the exercise of their rights to meet at the legislative diet; for at the town hall in Flensborg where the diet was afterwards held and within closed doors, the peasantry could not be admitted for want of place. — This exclusion of the Danish-Sleswick peasantry was a new step forward for the German nobles.

But just at this time, when Germanism broke forth so powerfully, the peasantry and citizens of Sleswick gave a proof of their Danish mind and attachment to Denmark. Whilst the prelates and the knighthood paid homage to Frederick the First as the ruler of the land, the citizens

and peasants took the part of the Danish and popular Christiern, against the German and aristocratically-minded Frederick. The peasantry or land-men would not acknowledge Duke Frederick, they assembled and armed themselves for Christiern the Second and marched forward to Urnehoved *"landsthing"* or general assembly. Here the judge of the district Nis Henriksen endeavoured in vain to move the peasants to fall in for the new ruler: he only saved his life with difficulty from the arrows of the pursuing peasants. The peasantry or land-men could not however accomplish anything as the German troops called in by Frederick the First were too strong. Nor were the citizens in the towns more successful, Aabenraa in particular had to pay dearly for its attachment to its lawful King. The town was taken by Frederick's soldiers, plundered, and men and women shamefully maltreated.

V.

The Reformation took place not long after. This event, so beneficial as it was in other respects, had however injurious results for the language and nationality of Sleswick. Whilst the Reformation brought the mother tongue to its right place and dignity in other places, by expelling the Latin language from the church and church service: the one injustice and absurdity only relieved the other in Sleswick, instead of Latin, the low German by degrees, and afterwards the high German, became the language of religious edification in a great part of Sleswick, and got likewise a far greater scope than the Latin had had, as it also extended to instruction in the schools. The religious movement began in Germany, the new doctrines were acknowledged and introduced into Sleswick by pure Germans, the teachers in the Duchy, both in church and schools, got their theological and scientific knowledge in the Universities of Germany. Herman Tast, Bugenhagen Johan Wandal, Eberhard Weidensee, Gerhard Sleeward, whom Duke Frederick and Christian employed on the introduction of the Reformation and the arrangement of church matters in Sleswick, were all German born, and spoke German. Even Johan Wandal, who after having been lector in the chapter at Haderslev became Bishop of Ribe, understood so little of Danish, that he on making

his visitations in his diocese was always obliged to have a Danish clergyman with him who could serve him as interpreter. The case was similar with Weidensee. In order to make good his want of insight in the Danish language, he appointed a clergyman in every district, and who under the name of the district-deacon was to examine the church accounts in his name and for him. That the low German translation of Christian the Third's church-ordinance was appointed for use in Sleswick as well as for Holstein agrees perfectly with the rest, — yet there is reason to suppose that the Danish translation was kept in North Sleswick.

As that century, in which the Holstein Counts secured themselves in the dominion of Sleswick, was marked by a change in the written language, as the Latin was succeeded in public acts and documents by the low German of these foreign masters and not by the popular Danish tongue so was the progress of the Germans also supported in the time of the Reformation by a particular circumstance, which was unfortunate for the Danish language. This circumstance was that just at that time a transition from an older to a more modern form of language was taking place. This dissolving and fermentation of the elements of the language, this fluctuation and hovering between the old and new, which accompanies such a change, must naturally have weakened the resisting power of the Danish language and eased the forward march of the German.

In their zeal for the diffusion of the German language, those who were in power sometimes did not fail to use violent means for the furtherance of it. There at least appears one instance where a clergyman was deposed because he would not preach German in a town that

was entirely Danish. It is recorded that Henrik Mikkelsen, who in the year 1635 was appointed deacon in Haderslev was displaced from his office four years afterwards, because he set aside the German language and performed the whole church service in Danish.

The church-superintendents in Sleswick in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries had by the powers of their office no little occasion to work for the diffusion of the German language, and, as they were all educated at German Universities, and, with a few exceptions, all born Germans, they seldom neglected to avail themselves of the occasion. One of them *Stephan Clotz*, by birth a Westphalian, who was General superintendent during the long period of thirty two years, from 1636 to 1668, — is especially famous for his German patriotism and zeal for the extermination of the Danish language.

Of this Clotz and the activity generally displayed by the German clergy, after the introduction of the Reformation, to supplant the popular language; the historian Pontoppidan, expresses himself as follows:

"At that time they sent for German students from Magdeburg and Wittenburg, without looking so particularly to the language. Yet the church service still continued in most places to be in Danish for a long time. But time after time, the clergy who alone studied in Germany and found much trouble with the Danish language sought to introduce German preaching in the country for the sake of their ease, even in those districts where the common people scarcely even understand a complete sentence. In some places they began first to give every fourth, then every second and at length all the sermons in German. Such things could not happen, if the deacons and especially the General superintendents, as German by

birth, had not had the same principles as the clergy. For as they in their visitations to their congegrations often could not effect anything, they wished to introduce that which was best known to them, although almost foreign to their congegration. In this respect I pretend that the General superintendent Doctor Stephan Clotz has acted very unjustifiably, as he in the middle of the former century (the XVII), did away entirely with the Danish and introduced the German language, to the great grief and vexation of the common people, though to the satisfaction of the priesthood in all the churches of Angeln, belonging to the deanery and jurisdiction of Flensborg, where Danish is spoken in every peasant's house, but where a Danish sermon is never heard*).

They however soon began to be no longer satisfied with the introduction and enforcement of the low German language. From the end of the Sixteenth and first part of the Seventeenth century they occupied themselves as zealously to make high German prevalent, first in the management of temporal affairs, and afterwards also in the churches and schools, as they had previously endeavoured to diffuse the low German. Nor were they more particular as to the means for enforcing the use of the high German language by the exclusion of the low German,

*) Of this same Clotz, Pontoppidan expresses himself in his — Ann. eccl. Dan. IV. 121. in the following manner: "Dr. Clotz undertook an affair of very important consequences, which did as little honour to his office here, as it could be of use to those souls committed to his care, when he as a man, who ex gratia majorum had a free hand in almost every thing in the jurisdiction of Flensborg, did away partly with the Danish and partly with the low German in church service, and in the place of these languages forced on the poor peasants the high German, which, as long as the church stands, will place an insurmountable hindrance to all edification.

than they had before been to procure the entrance of the latter at the expence of the Danish. Thus the Duchess Elisabeth Maria commanded Ingvar Petrei, priest in Ostenfeld, who in the last part of the Seventeenth century still preached low German, to preach high German on pain of losing his office; her court chaplain, Volkhard Paysen, was translated to another living because he could not preach high German; the clerk Hans Lammert in Ostenfeld was discharged from his office in the year 1678, by the superintendent because he could not or would not sing anything but low German. These endeavours of the persons in power to diffuse the high German language was however in one respect a fortunate circumstance for the preservation of the Danish tongue. For to expel the Danish, first by the low German and afterwards by the high German was a double work and took double time. It has not yet succeeded in making the high German a popular language in any part of Sleswick, neither in the South nor the North.

The frequent divisions of the Duchy in those times threw the Danes and Germans amongst each other, and, as German was the language of the court and government, the Danish tongue could not but be worsted by these divisions and the joint government united with it. — Haderslev, where Duke Hans (John) the elder had his seat, and where he founded a German grammar-school for the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, Nordborg, Sönderborg, Augustenborg, Glücksborg, became just as many outlets for German customs and German language in the midst of a Danish population, so that it can only be attributed to the people's love for their mother tongue that the effect of these nurseries for Germanism were far less than one could have supposed.

Notwithstanding all the unfavorable conditions, under which the Danish tongue now continued its existence for several centuries, notwithstanding the many inimical endeavours to expel it from its old territories, notwithstanding the German families of distinction, the German secular officers, and in a considerable part of the country German clergymen and German schoolmasters also: yet the popular Danish language was not to be shaken from its old boundaries. Still in the middle of the Seventeenth century the Danish language and the frontiers of the nation were the same as in older times, perhaps with the exception of the district Svansö, South of the Slie, where low German had already gained a footing as well as the Danish. As a witness we will here cite an author who wrote in 1652 and whom the Germans also generally respect as a good authority: It is Caspar Danckwerth, who in his "Neue Landbeschreibung von Schleswich und Holstein" — expresses himself as follows about the frontier boundary of the people and the language in his time:

"In this time of ours there dwells in this Dukedom Danes or Jutes, Saxons and Frisians. The Jutes possess the greater part thereof, as all, namely from Kolding to the firth of Slie and the town of Sleswick are Jutes or Danes, who speak the Danish language, the town of Flensborg alone excepted, where Danish and Germans are mingled. The town of Sleswick and what there besides lies between the Slie and the Eider and Levens-rivulet is for the most part inhabited by Saxons, who speak the lower Saxon language, as do also the inhabitants of the island of Femern on the East coast. From the frontiers or the Skudborg-rivulet to Tondern there likewise dwells none but real Jutes, but after them come the North-Frisians, who are not alone in possession of the

Marsh-lands from Tonder to the Eider, but also inhabit a part of Geesten or the high-land which, in former times, was called the Frisian Foregeest. The Frisians certainly speak at the present time common German or lower Saxon; those who dwell towards the North can also speak their Danish and besides that their old Frisian language, so that this people are in a manner (trilingues) three tongued."

VI.

The different Princes to whom the Danish Kings resigned parts of Sleswick as feoffs, and namely the most important amongst them, the Dukes of Gottorp shewed but little gratitude towards the crown of Denmark, to whom they owed their possessions. They always showed themselves as not to be relied on in decisive moments and at length went over to decided enmity against Denmark. When Wallenstein in 1627, during the time that Christian the Fourth took part in the defence of the protestant Religion against the emperor, fell into the peninsula, Duke Frederick the Third of Gottorp concluded a separate agreement with him and garrisoned the imperial troops in his castles and towns. His subjects, namely the Frisians and Angles, showed however greater fidelity towards Denmark than their regent, and yielded Christian the Fourth powerful assistance against the enemies of the country. It is worth while to notice these returning expressions of the people's attachment to Denmark in opposition to the very different conduct of the regents of the country *). In the following war, which broke out with

*) In later times also, in the remarkable years 1801 and 1807 the inhabitants of Sleswick showed a lively interest and enthusiasm for the Danish cause. The celebrated Danish actor, Knudsen, travelled about in Sleswick and gave performances in the different towns,

Sweden in 1643 Duke Frederick the Third acted in the same way, and on the breaking of peace in 1657 he took open part for Sweden. With that success which accompanied the arms of his son-in-law Charles the Tenth, he succeeded at the peace of Roeskilde, in 1658, in getting the sovereignty of his part of Sleswick made over to him, that is to say, the abolition of his feoffment to Denmark, yet only for himself and his male heirs. —

The hostile position which the Dukes of Gottorp had taken up against the realm, and which in the following times was formed into a fixed political system, as they concluded alliances with and constantly sought the support and resort of the enemies of the country, could not but call forth a similar determined and firm endeavour on the part of the Danish government to humble a power that had raised itself by foreign arms within the boundaries of the kingdom. An almost uninterrupted series of violent disputes and bloody wars was the result hereof. Hereby the Danish language and nationality of the inhabitants suffered much, as the Dukes vented their anger on them, and in their oppression saw a means of loosening the land more completely from Denmark. Duke Frederick the Fourth who bore an inveterate hatred to Denmark made no concealment of it. By his command the old national flag, Dannebrog, had to give way, in 1696, for a new one composed by himself. He also

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amongst others in Flensborg, for the benefit of the wounded and prisoners in the battle of 1801 on the road of Copenhagen, whereby rich contributions came in. During the events of 1807, the post office in Flensborg was as if besieged at all times by masses of persons who waited for the news from Sealand. A volunteer rifle corps was formed to take part in the defence of the country. National poems and songs were diffused in Sleswick, as well as in the other parts of Denmark.

made it often known, that it was his full intention to root out the Danish language from all his churches in the jurisdiction of Aabenraa, Lygum cloister and the jurisdiction of Tonder. His death on the field of battle in Poland prevented him from executing this purpose.

Now and then arose a voice in the midst of the din of battle, about the wrong and absurdity in the existing state of the language and the unjustifiable suppression of the mother tongue in Sleswick. Raupach a native of Sleswick thus says in a work written by him in 1704: "In my native land the popular language is Danish, but the sermons and catechisings are for the most part held in high German. What fruits are to be expected therefrom, what edification is to be hoped for? Can the object of instruction be attained, if the children learn the catechism by heart in the high German language, of which they had scarcely heard a word before? — This must be much doubted."

But such single voices died away unnoticed in times that were moved by quite other interests than respect for the mother tongue and the peculiar character of the people.

At length King Frederick the Fourth, after a successful war with the Duke of Gottorp in 1720, succeeded in regaining the ducal part of Sleswick. This was united in the following year with the royal part, and the whole dukedom was incorporated in the Danish crown and subjected, — after oaths were taken by the then representatives of the land, the knights and prelates, to the same law of succession as the kingdom. One should now have expected that Frederick the Fourth would have completed his work by taking earnest measures for the preservation of the Danish tongue and nationality in Sleswick. Had he directly introduced Danish instruction in the schools,

and by degrees also in the churches in all places where the Danish language was still alive amongst the people, and likewise, in the secular administration of the country, by degrees appointed Danish men to office: then, if his successors to the throne had worked in the same direction, the Danish tongue would now have sounded just as purely and unmixed in the south of Sleswick to the Slie, as it sounds in the north, and the complications of the present time have been avoided. But nothing was done. It is not the least, that Denmark has to complain of her German-minded and partly German-speaking Kings, that they in so high a degree neglected their calling, — that of maintaining and protecting the Danish language and nationality in Sleswick: It must not be forgotten, that Germanizing had its free course, not only in the ducal part of Sleswick but also in the royal part, that the General superintendant Clotz, under King Frederick the Third, about 1650, executed his work of destruction unhindered; that German sheriffs, magistrates and judges, governed just as fully in the royal part as in the ducal part. If any excuse can be made available for those Danish Kings, then it must be, that the mother tongue and nationality were at that time empty words, to which there was not any notion united in thought, and which did not awaken any feeling in the heart. But yet we have seen that the Duke of Gottorp, Duke Frederick the Fourth, towards the close of the Seventeenth century, understood very well their signification during the war with Denmark.

If we go somewhat further back in time, then it is evident; that the progress of Germanism in South Jutland, must have been powerfully forwarded by the German Kings who, the one after the other, ascended the throne

of Denmark, — Erik of Pomerania, Christopher of Bavaria, and Christiern the First — three German Kings in the course of half a century; then Frederick the First and Christian the Third, who even did not understand Danish; at length Frederick the Third and Christian the Fifth, at whose courts the German language and tone was the ruling one, and whose favorites and confidants were Germans. Therefore it is not alone of the Dukes of Gottorp that one must complain.

It however appeared as if Christian the Sixth would, as far as possible, make good the fault of his father and his predecessors. It cannot have been any particular interest for the language or nationality that thus led the King, for his usual conversation was German, and he never wrote anything in Danish, but much in German, and the whole of those about him were Germans. His feeling of justice has been rather set in motion by learning the debasement and oppression which the Danish language suffered in Sleswick; but it was however the religious interest that drove him on most. As a pious and christian man he was apprehensive, that so many souls would perhaps be lost, because the word of God was made known to them in a language they did not understand, and the doctrines of Christianity thus preached as to the deaf. — He felt himself pressed in his conscience, that such things should take place during his reign, and determined to see it remedied. The transactions that were carried on, on this occasion, are not so remarkable for the fruits they bore — for they were very inconsiderable and scarcely to be traced in the following times — as thereby, that they shew the King's disposition and intentions, and give some not uninteresting particulars about the state of the language at that time.

The King charged the clergy and secular dignitaries of the Dukedom, by a command dated the Tenth of July 1739, to give in an account of the position between the church and school language and that of the people towards each other in the different districts of Sleswick. These accounts, which came in by degrees, were all drawn up in German. From the jurisdiction of Haderslev the account was satisfactory; the church language and that of the people was here the same, namely Danish; in the town of Haderslev they at that time preached three Danish sermons a week for two German. They however added this hint to the account, that it would not be unserviceable if the inhabitants in the country, as well as in the town, were instructed in German," — in order that they might in time be the better able to understand the laws of the land, and edicts which were indited in the German language, or whatever else was to be expedited in that language."

It is this erroneous argument that has brought about so much misfortune in Sleswick; they concluded that: the Danish people ought to learn German because the laws and ordinances are German; instead of which it ought naturally to be: the laws and ordinances should be in Danish, because the people are Danish. The accounts from Aabenraa and the jurisdiction of Lygum-cloister are most remarkable, because in these the secular dignitary, the judge of the district, and the church dignitary, the dean, stood up against each other; the former defending the German, the latter defending the Danish. The dean remarked, that in the country the church-and-school language in both jurisdictions was everywhere Danish, but in the hamlet of Lygum-cloister, though the inhabitants only spoke Danish, and scarcely a thirtieth part under-

stood German, yet in 1681, when the place stood under the rule of the Dukes of Gottorp, German had been introduced and preached every second time instead of Danish, which however on account of its inutility had been changed, so that German was preached every third time. He proposed that the use of German preaching should be restricted, or as far more injurious than beneficial, entirely done away with, or at least the bad custom abolished of singing German psalms and saying the benedictions in German, in the Danish church service. The judge of the district meant differently: his proposition to the King was, that everything ought to remain in the old way; for, firstly, they were now once accustomed to it, secondly, the inhabitants understood sufficient German, and thirdly that the Hamburg lace merchants, who came to the place, would be much displeased and perhaps plague the King with their "peevishness", which might be avoided if they let everything remain as it was. These reasons of the judge were found valid by the King, who ordered, that it should remain in that way which was now the custom; yet German psalms and benedictions should be done away with in the Danish divine service.

In the account from the jurisdiction of Tönder the Frisian parishes are reckoned, where the inhabitants speak Frisian, but the church and school language was German, then the Danish congegrations where the church and school language is Danish, but lastly there is added the parishes of Uberg, Lygum, Humtrup, Braderup, Karlum, Ladelund and Middelby, where the popular language is Danish, but where, as it states, there was formerly preached more German than Danish and the instruction in the schools almost continually communicated in German. Yet it is said, that they had already begun for some

time before to forward the Danish more in several places, and that in one of the parishes, Uberg, arrangements were made for Danish preaching and examinations. How it has gone in the following times with these congregations, so deserving of commiseration, we shall speak more fully afterwards. Of the parish of Höier it is remarked, that the preaching is certainly in Danish, but that hitherto they had sung in German; yet now care would be taken that they always used Danish psalms. The King resolved that in the appointment of the clergy and school teachers in the whole jurisdiction it should be provided that those appointed understood both languages.

In the account which came in from Gottorp it is remarked, that according to the statements that had been collected from all the parishes in Angel, belonging to the jurisdiction of Gottorp, the inhabitants certainly spoke Danish amongst themselves, but likewise understood German so well, that instruction in the schools and church could be communicated to them in the German language without danger to their edification and progress. And besides there was not found, in the whole jurisdiction of Gottorp, a single clergyman or schoolmaster who was able to fulfil the duties of his office in Danish.

There appears this remarkable expression in the King's Resolution that it was his purpose, "by degrees to introduce the Danish language again into the Duchy of Sleswick, where it had fallen rather into disuse." — He therefore declared it as his will that the offices in the church and schools should in future be filled by persons who understood both Danish and German, and could execute the duties of their office in both languages.

The statement from the jurisdiction of Flensborg, which came in last, contained interesting information about

the state of the language. In the whole deanery of Flensborg and the district of Bredsted, high German was the church-and-school language. About the Frisian district, Bredsted, it is remarked that, the inhabitants use the German (low German) together with the old Frisian tongue, with the exception perhaps of the parishes of Fiolde and Joldelund, where Danish has diffused itself as well as the low German, *notwithstanding* the church-and-school language is high German. In the four collective districts which form the jurisdiction of Flensborg, namely Husby-district, Ny-district, Ugel-district and Vies-district, that is, North-Angel and the middle part of Sleswick, — the church-and-school language is high German, but the language of the inhabitants Danish, and in none of these districts are the inhabitants able to express themselves perfectly in German, except perhaps in Ny-district, which is the nearest to the jurisdiction of Gottorp. It would therefore be useful if the clergy together with German also understood Danish, as it is spoken here. But most of the clergy there are also able to do so, as they are born here in the country.

In Husby-district there are the parishes of Adelby, Nylskov, Husby, Hyrup and Grumtoft. Here the Danish is much more in use than in Ny-district, and in particular amongst the women, there are few who are able to speak German. But in the three first named parishes, the clergymen are also natives; whereas the two last have native Germans for clergymen, who cannot make themselves understood in Danish.

Of the five parishes which Ny-district includes, there are native clergymen in the two, who *in case of need* can speak Danish with their parishioners. The rest are born Germans, who do not understand Danish, but it

does not injure the edification of the inhabitants much, as those in this district are *not entirely strangers* to the German language.

In Uggel and Vies district Danish is spoken in all the parishes, but the clergymen are also natives, who *in case of need* can express themselves in the language of their parishioners.

With regard to the clerks and schoolmasters, they are altogether natives, and as such can avail themselves of the Danish language as it is spoken here in the district. In consequence of this statement the King commanded that, on the appointment of clergymen and schoolmasters the preference should in future be given to those persons who understood both German and Danish, and the last particularly in that dialect which was spoken in every place.

The resolutions and ordinances of Christian the Sixth for the preservation of the Danish tongue in Sleswick bore no fruit, and it may easily be seen why. If a popular language is to be saved from the destruction with which it is threatened, on account of its having been neglected for a long time, through the forced introduction of a foreign tongue, and again raised to its lost dignity and respect, then it is not enough, that the people's teachers speak to them in the usual careless dialect of the common people; but they should raise and purify it by using the language in its purest and noblest form, just as it appears in the cultivated language of conversation, and in a good and naturally written language. Besides the clergymen were not even charged to preach Danish to their Danish congregation, but only to understand the common language, so as to be able to speak with such of their parishioners as could not make themselves under-

stood in any other way. There is no trace whatever to be found that the language preached has in any place been changed to Danish, where German was once introduced. Next — and it is one of the most important and essential things — the instruction in the schools continued thenceforward to be German for the children who spoke Danish; for the King commanded, not that Danish instruction in the schools should take the place of the German, but only that the schoolmasters as well as the clergy should understand both languages. Germanizing must therefore now, as before, take root more and more and make its sure, destructive course towards the North, if other fortunate circumstances did not prevent its progress. Not even the modest claim that the teachers in the church and schools should understand the common language was ever carried through. The many resolutions of Christian the Sixth thus led to nothing; but it was not to be expected, that his German counsellors would support his good will by any sound and practical advice for the preservation of the Danish language.

VII.

What was done by the Danish government in the nearest subsequent time for the preservation of the Danish language in Sleswick, is confined to a Patent of the First of April 1743, where the Sleswick and Holstein students were encouraged to frequent the university in Copenhagen, with the promise that their stay here should be taken into consideration on their promotion, also that they — by an additional patent of the Twenty second of June — should be exempted, in such case, from taking the examination for admission to the university of Copenhagen. But as there was no arrangement united with the University to meet the necessities of the Sleswick students for an education, that had regard to the particular state of their native district, namely by lectures on the law and administration of Sleswick: it was of course without any great fruits. The matter was besides badly conceived, as the patent also extended to the German students in Holstein. From the reasons adduced, the reasonable and otherwise correct resolution of the King, dated the Twentieth of October 1758 — to the theological faculty, — "that the native Sleswickers, no less than other Danish or Norwegian students, should be admitted to enjoy board in the college, so that the subjects in Sleswick ought not to be regarded otherwise than what

they actually are, namely real Danes, and born within the boundaries of Denmark's kingdom", — had not any particularly remarkable results*). A strange contrast to the design, which one must suppose was the reason for those two royal notifications, forms the edict published ten years afterwards, viz in 1768, whereby it was a duty imposed on the Sleswick students to stay at the university of Kiel for two years.

One might reasonably have expected a greater and more active care for the oppressed Danish language in Sleswick, from the Guldberg ministry, which otherwise, and that not without reason, was praised for its Danish disposition, — than that which expressed itself on the appointment of a teacher in Danish for the students at the university of Kiel, in 1781. It must be without effect as long as the students, educated at the grammar schools in Sleswick, which were all German, did not bring with them any knowledge of the Danish language or acquaintance with Danish literature.

Frederick the Sixth, who, if he did not possess much policy, had however a popular mind and much feeling for justice, could not look coolly on the pressure and injustice that rested on the Danish population in Sleswick. He made known, by several royal ordinances, that it was his will to see a change brought about in this respect. Thus in 1807 all the royal colleges were charged to make the royal ordinances known both in Danish and

*) In connexion with the above, it must be called to mind that Frederick the Third, by a rescript of the 29th of December 1669, referred Sleswick causes to the Danish Board of Justice, but his successor on the throne abolished it a few months afterwards, by instructions to the German Board of Justice of the 26th of July 1670, according to which most of the Sleswick causes were referred thereto.

German. It was made known by several resolutions in the year 1811 and following years, that in the appointment of persons to office, there would, under otherwise equal circumstances, be a preference given to those candidates who possessed a knowledge of the Danish language, and they were charged to produce evidence thereof on petitioning for offices. It was particularly important and very promising, that, by a rescript from the superior tribunal of Gottorp, dated January the nineteenth 1811, to all the magistrates in the Dukedom, it was declared as the King's will, that the Danish language should by degrees be introduced in divine service, in instruction in the schools, in the courts of justice and all public concerns in those districts where it was spoken. To this was added the ordinance of the Fifth of November 1811, which gave the theological candidates, who had passed their examination at the university of Copenhagen, the right to appointment in the Dukedom. Lastly by an ordinance regarding the schools, in 1814, the Danish language was introduced as an object of education in the grammar schools. But the weakness and vacillation of the Danish government, which we have oftener had occasion to complain of, we must also complain of here. It is true, the ordinances that were issued from the royal colleges were made known both in Danish and German, but the proclamations of the magistrates continued to be issued only in German. Danish, it is true, was made an object of instruction in the grammar schools, but how it has been carried into effect with that instruction was clearly seen some years ago, when the North Sleswick juridical officers, a whole generation after the introduction of the new school-ordinance into the grammar schools, declared, that they did not rightly understand Danish!

The most important and worst was however, that the royal purpose, — that of introducing the Danish language into public life there, where it prevailed in the daily life, was never realised.

One of the pressures that rested hard on the Danish population of Sleswick, as a result of the ascendency of Germanism was, that the German language had made itself valid in the courts of law throughout tbe land, right to Kongeaaen*). German laws and courts of justice and the German language in those courts, was valid as well as the Danish; which was not yet entirely rooted out; not only in those districts where the church-and-school language was German, if even the popular language were Danish, but even in these jurisdictions where both the popular language and school-and-church language was Danish, on Æro and Als, in Tönder, Aabenraa, Lygumcloister and Haderslev jurisdictions: directly outside the gates of Kolding one saw German placards with judicial edicts, notices and proclamations stuck up. The Danish citizen and farmer had to seek justice at a German tribunal, the evidences and explanations made on oath, in his mother tongue, were translated into German, — German advocates pleaded causes and German judges decided them. Ruinous misunderstandings, perplexities in the causes and endless law suits, were the inevitable results thereof. Several of those German jurists afterwards declared that they did not rightly understand Danish! — The many kinds of German laws which forced their way in amongst the Danish, produced such a chaotic confusion in the law and administration thereof, that it was almost

*) The King's rivulet, which forms the boundary between the kingdom and the duchy of Sleswick.

impossible for any man to know what was juridically right or wrong. More than thirty different statute laws are valid to this day in the Duchies, besides numberless edicts and resolutions, and in Sleswick alone there existed, and certainly still exist, one hundred and fifty seven districts for the administration of justice. Under such a state of things, the advocates, of whom an immense number are found in this little land, thrive and flourish; under such a state of things law suits have rich maintenance, for which reason they also begin to be a common fault with the inhabitants of the country, who are otherwise so respectable in character. Christian the Eighth marked the first year of his reign by an act of justice, which had for its aim the abrogation of an important part of the evil, as he by a rescript of the Fourteenth of May 1840 ordained that the Danish language should hereafter be introduced into the government affairs and causes in the courts of justice in those districts where it was the church-and-school language. His claim to a grateful appreciation would have been more undivided, if he had possessed just as much power to make the law valid, as a feeling for justice and equity by affirming it. But a terrible resistance arose from the whole host of German jurists, and it became still more violent, when the peasants according to Danish custom now also began to introduce courts of arbitration amongst themselves, for this was treading too close upon the advocates. Christian the Eighth was not able to conquer the refractory parties, he was obliged to give his just command several restrictions, and the law was, as the inhabitants complained, continually avoided and set aside.

A nation is generally accustomed to find protection and defence against injustice from its representatives. The

Danish people in Sleswick have not been so fortunate. One of the causes is the unpopular nature of the election laws, which has prevented the people's wants and opinions from being properly made known in the assembly of deputies; the strongly represented Sleswick aristocracy is entirely German in mind and speech. Another cause is, that the bureaucracy, which is likewise entirely German and like a net encircles the whole of Sleswick, has, by its influence in many places, been able to work on the choice even of representatives. The advocates and jurists of the town of Sleswick formed about a sixth part of the assembly of representatives. There is no trace whatever in the ordinances of the assembly, of any special care for the national benefit of the Danish population which the condition of the country claimed in so commanding a manner.

In the beginning the representative assembly showed itself however reasonable; even in 1838 it gave in a motion — which, it is true was only received after violent opposition and with only a majority of five votes, — that the Danish language should be introduced in all government and juridical causes in those districts of the Dukedom where the church-and-school language is Danish, also that the offices in the Danish part of Sleswick should be filled by men who were fully masters of the Danish language. But this was also only a mistake; the assembly soon after came to its senses and a better acknowledgement. At the next meeting already in the year 1840 the assembly declared, in excusing itself, that it, by the former motion — "had allowed itself to be led by a certain feeling of humanity" —, it acknowledged "its error", and now moved, with a great majority, 33 against 9 —, that the rescript of the Fourteenth of May

1840, which was called forth at its own request, might be abrogated, or postponed for further consideration, as far as it concerned the introduction of the Danish as a judicial and business language!

But the assembly surpassed itself on meeting again in 1842. At the close of that year, the notorious meetings were held, in which the president of the assembly refused the Danish deputy, Peter Hjort Lorenzen, to make speeches in his Danish mother tongue, whilst the members of the assembly made an alarm and uttered insulting ejaculations during his speech, and at length the president closed the last of these scandalous meetings with the declaration, that he would prohibit Peter Hjort Lorenzen by force from admission to the hall, if he did not lay aside his Danish speeches. The King of Denmark's representative in the assembly, Reventlow Criminil, president of the Sleswick-Holstein board of justice, remained mute during these scenes, though his assistance was called for; just as he in previous transactions, when insulting expressions were used against Denmark, had shown himself hard of hearing. The secretaries declared themselves unable to undertake the entries in the minute book in the Danish language, which they had however done often in the years 1838 and 1840, and Peter Hjort Lorenzen's speech was given in the German and Danish edition of the "Provincial-Estates Gazette" with the words "Peter Hjort Lorenzen *redete Dänisch*" — and — "Peter Hjort Lorenzen *fortfuhr Dänish zu reden*"; Peter Hjort Lorenzen spoke Danish — and — Peter Hjort Lorenzen continued to speak Danish. — These words have since, in all their brevity, become an eulogium rich in matter, over this now deceased man, to whom the Danish nation owes a great debt of

gratitude for his manly and staunch conduct in a just cause *).

The most sorrowful business in the whole affair was however the decision it got from the King of Denmark, who hereby left his own people alone in their combat for their mother tongue, and disowned himself; for Christian the Eighth had however often given proofs of a Danish mind, nor yet on the first decision of the case disowned it, as he, in a rescript of the Second of December 1842, strongly disapproved of the proceedings of the Assembly and designated it as — "a violation of the natural rights of the Danish-speaking deputies." — One should then have expected that the Danish King would have maintained that which he himself declared as *a natural right;* the whole nation expected a decision in harmony with this declaration. But German counsellors were mighty in the halls of the Danish King. The patent of the Twenty ninth of March 1844 confined the use of the Danish tongue to those "who do not believe them-

*) "The Sleswick Provincial states Gazette" 1842. (Danish edition) — Twenty second meeting, the Eleventh of November. On P. H. Lorenzen's address to the royal commissary, Count Reventlow Criminil, p. 718 the commissary declared: "That if the deputy wished for a decisive answer, he must request him to express himself in the German language, as *he* (the commissary) was not entirely master of the Danish.

During the tumultuous scenes in the following meetings the royal commissary remained entirely inactive. In the Twenty third meeting, on the Fourteenth of November the transactions were continued, H. P. Lorenzen "continuing to speak Danish." — The president of the assembly, Counsellor Falck, continued to refuse him his right thereto, and the members of the assembly did not cease to make a noise and scream, every time that he rose to speak. At the close of the Twenty fourth meeting, on the Sixteenth of November, the president declared (p. 771.) "that he would see to take proper measures to prevent the deputy for Söndenborg from again entering that hall."

selves to be sufficiently masters of the German language, so as to be able to avail themselves thereof in their speeches in the assembly." — Thus when they could not speak German correctly, they then first got permission to use their unworthy mother tongue! — This was the maintenance of the *"natural rights"!* — Every Danish man felt the blow that was given to the dignity of the Danish language, every one felt his national honour humiliated by this decision of the case. A petition with pressing representations against the patent of the Twenty ninth of March was set in motion and delivered to the King, containing 20,000 signatures; the Sleswick union, consisting of the small land owners of North Sleswick, likewise gave in an address to the King, wherein a bitter feeling of humiliated right expressed itself, and several of the North Sleswick deputies made a declaration that they would not meet in the coming assembly of deputies, as long as the patent of the Twenty ninth of March was in force. But all was without effect. The German counsellors were so powerful in the halls of the Danish King even in these last times. The state of the language remained thus, until the breaking out of the Augustenborg revolt.

VIII.

We have seen, that that which government did for the preservation of the Danish tongue and customs of the people, in Sleswick, was extremely little; that it was either accessory or careless, or, when it acted, weak and irresolute, so that it either was not able or soon forgot to procure strength and validity to those laws and ordinances which itself gave. But what did the people then do when the government attended so badly to its duty?

Under an absolute government, such as Denmark's, the people are only passive and suffering — good or evil according to circumstances; the government is the sole active element in the state. Therefore at that time the people could do but little in exterior acts. But no sooner had the absolute power received a considerable modification, if not in form, yet in being, by the introduction of the assembly of deputies, than the awakened spirit of the people also moved powerfully amongst the natives of Sleswick. Hitherto they had sighed and suffered in silence: they now began to act, and as those, whom it more especially concerned, to defend their rights and their mother tongue themselves. It was a Sleswick peasant, Nis Lorenzen, of Lilholdt, who, when the provincial assembly met for the first time, in the year 1836, brought forward the motion, lately mentioned, respecting the use

of the Danish language in all public transactions, in those districts where it was the church-and-school language. At that time however the deputies could not find time to discuss the motion; but repeated in the year 1838 and supported by many petitions, amongst which several from the jurisdiction of Haderslev, with 1500 signatures, it passed through, though after violent opposition. We have already stated how the deputies sought to overturn their own work in the following meeting in 1840, and Peter Hjort Lorenzen's manly combat for the Danish language in 1842. The union that was formed by native Sleswickers in the year 1839, amongst whose members the student and peasant's son, Nis Hansen, distinguished himself by his activity, for the diffusion of Danish literature in Sleswick. To those evils which resulted from the unnatural condition that existed between Sleswick and the mother country, there also belongs this: the Sleswickers were formerly almost excluded from the productions of the Danish literature. How vividly this restraint had been felt, was shown by the eagerness with which the aim of the union was met and supported by the inhabitants of the country. Reading clubs were formed everywhere and many thousands of Danish books were distributed. To this there was suitably added the publication of a Danish newspaper, which, under the name of *Dannevirke* was begun in 1838 by P. E. Koch, who has edited it with much ability, until the present time. This paper, which has gained an extensive circulation, has from its first beginning contained almost entirely original articles by native Sleswickers. Another Danish newspaper afterwards appeared in Aabenraa, published by Fischer. The indefatigableness and obstinacy of the German opposition party, at length taught the Danish population that,

in order to effect anything they must join together and act in unity. The fruit of this acknowledgement was the foundation of *the Sleswick union,* for which the appeal was made by twenty five peasants in the year 1843. It has sustained many a hard struggle, and the time following its commencement been the centre of almost all endeavours that had for their object the defence of the mother tongue, the nationality, and the people's rights. During the combat they felt vividly the loss of that cultivation which the higher schools and institutions for education ought to give the children of the country, but which is denied to the Danish Sleswicker, if he will not give his mother tongue in payment as school money. In order to remedy this want, four clergymen and ten peasants issued an appeal for the purpose of founding a high-school for peasants. This appeal met with a response, and the school in Rödding has now worked successfully for several years to extend Danish spirit and education amongst the rural population of Sleswick *). They have endeavoured to strengthen one another and enliven their courage and spirit during the combat by meetings and public assemblies. Amongst these the popular meetings on Skamlingsbank are particularly celebrated over the North. Here the peasants *Laurids Skau* and young *Ravn* have shown in eloquent speeches that they not only speak Danish in Sleswick, but good Danish.

But even in those times, when the people were excluded from public life, and dared not express themselves in outward acts, the Danish people in Sleswick did however much: for they were persevering, they did

*) That all these endeavours of the Sleswickers found powerful supports in Denmark, it is almost needless to say; or else Denmark was not Danish.

not give up their mother tongue. If it even durst not sound from the judgement seat, if even the people might not hear it in God's house, though another language was imprinted on the children in the schools by force, nay under threat of the schoolmaster's punishment they were even charged to practise themselves, out of school hours, in talking low or high German, as the school boys in the middle ages practised themselves in Latin: yet all this was not able to root out that deeply rooted love for their mother tongue. They did not forget it on this account: in the domestic circle, amongst the members of the family, during their daily occupations, in familiar intercourse with neighbours and townsmen, it now sounded as before, refreshed and nourished by an old chronicle about the deeds of their forefathers, which in the early ages had strayed into these districts, or was the remains of older and better times. There is a strange power in that tongue, which sounds by the cradle of the child, that clangs in his ears during his growth up to the youth and man, during life's pleasures and sorrows, great and small events; there is in it a toughness and resisting power which scarcely anything is able to conquer. The mother tongue is bound up with a people's inward root and marrow; it has a sort of immortality, for it lives as long as a people themselves do not die bodily or spiritually.

It is owing to this peculiar life of the mother tongue, and this true adherence to it received from their fathers, in conjunction with different accidental and favorable outward circumstances, which shall be afterwards touched on, that the Danish tongue in Sleswick, after all the pressure it has had, has still lost so proportionately little of its old domains. Though covered with scars and bruises, and bleeding with fresh wounds after the long combat,

the Danish Sleswicker has still in our days the greatest part of that domain of language in his possession which has belonged to him from olden times.

We should not lay this aside without strengthening it by unexceptionable evidence. We shall here, as we have regularly done in the previous chapters, and will do in the following, chiefly ground our assertions on those of German authorities, born Germans, or German authors. If we appealed to Danish authorities our antagonists would naturally not neglect to make them suspected as partial and willing witnesses. They belong to the close of the former and the beginning of this century and thus have the advantage, that they on the one side stand so far from our time that its violent combat has not been able to set their passions in motion and mislead their judgement; on the other side they are so near it, that their statements can also be applied to the situation of the present time to denote its nature.

The German author L. A. Gebhardi writes thus in 1770: "In the town of Sleswick itself and further on, in a straight line, until Husum, one finds the Danish there (towards the South) quite unknown and uncommon, *but directly in the next villages of Angel the common man speaks only Danish.*"

J. F. Hansen, author of an esteemed work on the Duchy of Sleswick, expressed himself in the following terms, in 1770, respecting the relative proportions of the language: "In the jurisdiction of Gottorp, as far as the Slie lies to the North, and in the jurisdiction of Flensborg, *Danish is generally spoken by the peasant,* although the Danish church service is only performed in high German."

J. A. Bolten, a native of Ditmarsh, determines the boundary in 1777, in the following manner:

"Even to the present time one perceives by the language how far the Danes and Saxons dwelt formerly, *as on the North of the Slie, at least in the country, all speak Danish,* but on the South, nothing is heard but German."

H. O. Scheel, a native of Rendsborg, in a work which he wrote in German in 1785, and which was afterwards translated into Danish, expresses himself as follows:

"That Jutland (North and South Jutland) has always been an old cimbric and therefore Danish province, is proved, *not alone by the Danish language, which is spoken as far as the Slie* and the above mentioned South Jutland Boundaries, but also by the construction of the wall Dannevirke."

An anonymous German author, but one particularly well acquainted with the nature of the subject, writes in 1799:

"I will now point out the boundary between these two people. *This boundary is the Slie and the way from Sleswick to Husum. Angel by the Slie is entirely Danish and so are all the inhabitants on the North side of the way between both named places and the environs.* Those who live nearest the South side of this way are not all Germans, but for the most part a commingling of both nations."

K. Aagaard, clergyman of the parish of Agerskov in Sleswick, a clever man and one well acquainted with the localities of the district, and who has written an esteemed work on Törninglehn in Sleswick, speaks of the

boundary of the language and its condition in the year 1815 in the following terms:

"Suppose the length of the Duchy from the Kongeaa to the Eider to be seventy miles (English) then the Danish language extends, in daily conversation, through fifty eight, the low German through the twelve miles. A line between the spoken Danish and the spoken low German must be supposed to be drawn across the country, from about Husum, a little to the North part of Sleswick, to the Slie, which firth forms the parting line out towards the Baltic. On the West side, with the exception of the Frisians, Danish is spoken as far as Husum, for instance, in Svesing; but in Husum, Mildsted, Ostenfeld and Hollingsted the German. On the East side the Danish is spoken in Angel almost to Sleswick, for instance in Helbæk on the frontiers of the jurisdiction of Gottorp, six miles (English) from Sleswick; in Idstæd the nearest town to the South the German begins. To the South of the firth of Slie, in Svansen, the German is spoken. The Danish language in Angel and in those districts bordering on the German frontiers is naturally not pure Danish but somewhat mixed, the cause of which may be much attributed to the circumstance that all instruction is communicated not in Danish, but in the German language, and that no one learns to read in a Danish book."

The Frisian, Outzen, clergyman of the parish of Brecklum, near Brestved, states as follows in 1819:

"Towards the South there is still, taken on the whole, the primitive boundary or frontier, namely from the East to the Slie, by Sleswick, and from there likewise in a direct line drawn to Husum; what lies on the South side is German; towards the North, namely direct of the Frisian's land, all is Danish."

To this however the author adds the remark, that just as Svansö, South of the Slie, was before Germanized, so does the low German make its way more and more into South Angel, "as if the old language of their forefathers was no longer good enough for them, just as if the equally plain Holstein tongue was so much more elegant. To these somewhat elder authorities we shall add an evidence taken from the present time; that of J. G. Kohl, so well known to the English reader, from his travels in England and Ireland; and who has travelled and remained in those districts we have alluded to, in order to make himself acquainted with the state of the language and nationality. He writes in the year 1847:

"It is certainly possible that the Danish language will hereafter succumb much quicker and more completely than before in the surrounding districts. I say it is possible, but until further this fact still stands fast, that the German language since its first contact with the Danish in the district around the Slie, during its combat with the same for nearly a thousand years, has only perfectly rooted it out in a little district of scarcely forty square miles (English). Notwithstanding that many German knights, and many German priests have immigrated thither; notwithstanding German administration of justice, German laws and German family customs are introduced and made valid there, yet the German language has only gained ground and driven the Danish entirely out of the eigtheenth part of the area of the whole Duchy of Sleswick, about seven hundred square miles. When we think that the whole of Jutland with the Duchy of Sleswick is about two thousand eight hundred square miles in extent, and that consequently the former part contains about the seventieth part of the whole of Jutland, which it has taken about

a thousand years to conquer entirely, so one can after that make a tolerable calculation of how long a time the Germans have yet to wait before they see their wish accomplished; namely those Germans who prate so much about that lance shaft which the Emperor Otto once stuck down in the soil of Jutland, by the Liimfiord; who prate about its flourishing and shooting forth of branches; those Germans namely, who find something glorious therein, that the Danish language shall once be supplanted by the German, which should then prevail right up to the cape of Skagen"*).

We have cited a series of witnesses from 1770 to 1847, and that witness, which even the most zealous German will not be able to reject very well. According to them therefore, it stands as certain, that the domain of the Danish tongue during the long combat for its oppression has been expelled but very very little from its old precincts, on the East side about eight miles (English) towards the North; that it, besides Svansö, has only lost a piece of Angel, along the firth of Slie; and that the low German does not, even here, sit particularly fast, we shall soon bring forth reasons for. We Danes do not therefore complain so much of the loss we have suffered — (though it is always hard to lose any part of those domains, which our forefathers have confided to their successors from generation to generation as a sacred inheritance, that they should guard and preserve them undiminished until the latest times) —, as of that contempt, debasement and oppression, under which the Danish language in Sleswick has suffered, and still suffers,

*) J. G. Kohl. Die Deutsche und dänische Nationalitet in Schleswig. 1847. P. 135–137.

and of those dangers with which the future threatens it, if a barrier be not placed against that encroaching Germanism which now advances more strongly than before.

We shall now see more particularly how matters stand within the old frontiers of the people and the language, and take a view of the particular districts.

That part which is bounded on the North by Husum-rivulet, Trene, Dannevirke, the Slie, the remains of the Eastern-wall and Egernfiord, and towards the South by the Eider and the old Levens-beck, which now forms a part of the Eider canal, lies out of consideration, as well as the island of Femern, which has partly a Slavonian, and partly a German population that has emigrated thereto afterwards. This part, which, as it has been remarked, lay desert in the olden times, except towards the West, where the Frisians dwelt, has been cultivated by degrees and taken possession of by Germans and has never been Danish. For the same reasons we will not take notice of the Sleswick town Rendsborg, which lies in the original German tract of land. With the Frisians we have not properly anything to do either, if it were not in order to draw attention to the remarkable fact, that the Danish language in this part gains in extent, and that *quite peacefully and unconstrained.* The parishes of Aventoft, Klixböl, Læk, Joldelund, Fjolde, Olderup and Svesing were originally Frisian and the Frisian language was spoken there; but the Danish language has diffused itself amongst them by degrees. That this is an entirely peaceful acquisition, is best perceived thereby, that at the same time that the Danish language has gained a fast footing here, the high German both has been and is the church-and-school language. One can be less astonished that Eiderstedt and, generally, the whole tract of land

between the Eider, Heverstream and Trene which was originally Frisian, has adopted the low German language, as German church-and-school language has been introduced here ever since the time of the Reformation. But the Frisians, once a strong and manly tribe are now upon the whole a sinking and expiring race, who, without showing any power of resistance against that which forces itself on them from without, seek to secure themselves by withdrawing within themselves. They have also shown this in the present revolt, where they would sustain a sort of neutral position, but on the other side also without supporting their lawful prince.

The Frisian towns Tönning, Garding and Husum, which have adopted the low German language, and Frederickstadt, which is a Dutch colony, does not belong to our province to speak of here.

The first tract of land we meet with above the boundary we have pointed out, is the peninsula of Svansö between Egernfiord and the Slie, an old Danish land, as Danish as any other can be. All the names of the older villages and estates are Danish, such as: Flækkeby, Vindeby and the town Egernfiord, Eskilsmark, Ærnum, Nordby, Sönderby, Gammelby, Borreby, Stubbe, Krisby, Sisby, Stavn, Vindemark, Svandsborg, Espenæs, Nonæs, Ulpenæs, Bögenæs, Bögaa, Nyby, Skovby, Tumby, Söby, Kothöved, Kobæk, Egholt, Eghöved, Barkelsby, and Brodersby. The old Danish division into districts (herreder) was used here, the inhabitants were free Danish peasants, and spoke Danish. But in the middle of the Seventeenth century already it had come so far, that one could say: "The inhabitants make use of the low German and Danish language." — At the close of the Eighteenth century it is stated in the Danish Atlas 1781: "Here low German

is generally spoken, except in the towns by the Slie, where they speak a corrupted Angel-Danish." And at length in our days it is said there: "Within the memory of man Danish has still been heard in some villages by the Slie." — Now, Danish is neither heard nor spoken there. Svansö is lost to the Danish language and nationality. The Germanizing has been so well based that even the German manner of building has dislodged the Danish in many places, if not in most. If we ask the cause, the answer is not far distant, when it is remembered what was stated before about the intrusion of the Holstein nobility into these districts. This little land, about seventeen square miles (English) in extent, with 10,000 inhabitants, numbers twenty seven noblemen's estates, on which the inhabitants are divided. The population was until the year 1806 in a complete state of villeinage to the nobility.

In Angel, that fine and fertile land between the Slie and Flensborg-firth with a population of 50,000 persons in sixty square miles (English) — the combat has been particularly violent and the oppression great. Here also the Holstein nobility forced their way into the inviting districts by the Slie and the Baltic. Here are twenty six estates of the nobility with a population of about 15,000 persons. Here also the Danish peasants were the serfs of the Holstein nobility; but the rooting out of the Danish language went on more slowly here than in that little cut-off land Svansö, where besides the whole population came under the nobility, whilst in Angel this was only the case with less than a third part, who in the rest of the population of the country had thus a support for their language. This therefore maintained itself, as we have seen, until the close of the former century

as a general and popular language over the whole land, direct to the Slie. Nor did the people of Angel always willingly and quietly submit to their Holstein masters giving them German clergymen. Thus the peasants on the estate of Gelding made objections in the Sixteenth century, against the appointment of a clergyman because he did not understand Danish. We have before shown how the Westphalian, Clotz, made use of his office, for the diffusion of the German language. He found a worthy successor in the Eighteenth century, 1750, in a clergyman in Hyrup, who amongst other things expressed himself thus to his congregation: *)

"Have I not tried to teach you German, you pack of devils and wicked wretches? But of what use is it? The devil's pack keeps to its senseless Danish tongue, at home and everywhere."

The congregation also entered an action at law against him, which resulted in his dismissal, as his expressions were proved by witnesses. Of the state of the three parishes of Angel, — Gelting, Sterup and Eksriis at the close of the former and beginning of this century a valid authority, Mr. Jensen parson in the parish of Gelting in Angel relates the following: "The catechism was the chief thing and even old people were examined when they went to confession, if they knew their catechism; but, when the meaning of it was asked it was a difficult matter for people to express themselves; for their stock of German words and expressions was confined to what they had learned by heart, and the old people were

*) "Habe ich euch Teufelsgesinde und Höllenbrände nicht Deutsch reden lehren wollen? Was hilft es aber? Dieses Teufelsgesinde bleibt bey ihrer tollen dänischen Sprache im Hause unter sich und allenthalben."

therefore well satisfied with Pastor Kiesby — clergyman in Gelting from 1782 to 1797, because he, being born in Tönder, could express himself with equal facility both in Danish and German, also took Danish answers, and when he could not make himself understood in any other way, put his questions in Danish. Pastor Bielefeld of Sterup — 1758 to 1799 — distinguished those children who were able to answer with their own words and encouraged them to it; for the German would not flow freely from their tongues, when the sentences were not learned by heart. Pastor Rinze of Esgrus — *i. e* — Eskriis — from 1766 to 1804 — "the children's friend" — as he is still often called, paid much attention and care to youth and brought the children to speak, — by jesting and seriousness. Directly on his taking the office, the use of the stick was laid aside, without the help of which they at that time thonght it was impossible to conduct any school. That the clergymen and schoolmasters at that time took much pains to bring the children to speak German nay that there were those who punished the children, when they spoke Danish amongst themselves, has been much reprobated in some books about the disputes respecting Danish and German; but one must consider that this was necessary, when one would go beyond a simple, thoughtless, learning by heart!" *)

*) N. A. Jensen. Beschreibung von Angeln. 1844. S. 146-47. Jensen was himself clergyman in Gelting until lately. That personal chastisement has been applied of late to children, who spoke Danish, C. Paulsen brings forward evidence in, Dannevirke No. 29. 1839. P. 115.

For the rest Jensen, whose evidence we have often cited, and will partly have occasion to cite, ought not to be judged by his last, above mentioned expression about enforcing German by help of the rod. He shows himself everywhere as a lover of truth, and in many cases as a liberal thinking man, free from the

After a combat and resistance of several centuries duration a part of the inhabitants of Angel were tired of it and gave way to the continued efforts of their clergy, the schoolmasters, the magistrates and the noble owners of the estates: they gave up their long defended Danish tongue and became speakers of low German from the beginning of this century. Yet this was the case only with a proportionably small number, namely the inhabitants of a strip of land which in about four miles (English) in breadth or somewhat more, extends from the town of Sleswick and follows the Slie to its issue for a length of twenty two miles. It makes about twenty eight square miles. On this tract low German is spoken; if one comes to the North of it, both Danish and low German are equally spoken, and of course the further one comes towards the North, the Danish is heard so much the more. The relative proportion between both languages is here in general this, that the peasant of Angel speaks low German to the clergyman and schoolmaster, and his superiors in office, as also to strangers; in his family and amongst his equals he speaks Danish. As he sees

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fanaticism of the Sleswick-Holsteiners. Nevertheless his sympathies are German. This shows itself therein, that he not alone will not, that those districts where Danish and (on account of the instruction in schools), low German are equally spoken, should be regained for the Danish language by Danish school instruction, — but even not, that the mother tongue in those districts where the inhabitants speak Danish exclusively, although the church-and-school language is German, — and where the children as he himself says, know not a word of German, when they come to school, should again be placed in their natural rights. These questions are the ordeals whereby one knows the Danish minded and the German minded man. Kohl has still stronger German sympathies than Jensen, though he now and then has shocks of cosmopolite impartiality. Besides he does not possess such close acquaintance with the matter as Jensen and therefore is often at fault.

the Danish despised amongst all the upper classes, with whom he comes in communication, the stranger generally hears the taught German first, but when he continues to speak Danish, the peasant soon comes forward with his natural tongue. As the Germanizing even in that tract of land, which we have designated as speaking low German, has not gained the upper hand before the beginning of this century, the inhabitants, as was to be expected, in many places still understand the Danish; this is also strengthened by creditable authority from the latest time *).

The previously cited German traveller, Kohl, found even among the inhabitants of Angel who have been Germanized, a striking agreement in person and manners with the real Jutes and a strongly marked difference from the German population South of the Slie. When the traveller, for instance, asks about the way, the lower Saxon then gives the stranger directions in a few and short words and then lets him go on his way. It is different when one comes over the Slie to the Angles. Here the stranger's question is not first answered, the inhabitant of Angel begins with a friendly mien to worm out of the traveller, where he comes from, where he is going to, what is the object of his journey, how the corn looks in other places — exactly like the Jute — and then he

*) C. Paulsen, in Dannevirke No. 30. 1839. thus witnesses: that a couple of years ago his Danish address was understood by young men in Tolk and Urmark (Ohrfeld), which lies within the mentioned boundary for the dominion of low German, and in the list of criminals for the first half part of the year 1832, the criminals from Ravnkjær and the estate Ö (likewise within the low German boundary and close by the Slie) — as speaking German and Danish. — Compare the same author "Ueber Volksthümlichkeit im Herzogth. Schleswig." P. 8. Note 2, where he speaks of having conversed in Danish with peasants from a couple of parishes (Sigersted and Sörup), which lie a little more Northward.

first begins with great explicitness, and good natured chat, to tell the stranger that he can come to that place he is bound for, both by that way and that way. To this Kohl joins a remark, which gives an almost touching evidence of the continuing affection of the native of Angel for his Danish fatherland, and at the same time contains a remarkable elucidation of the state of the language. His words are: "In many other things also the old Saga is said to be confirmed, that Dan, the primitive father of the Danes, and Angel, the primitive father of the Angles, were brothers. Thus it is said, for instance, that, *even in the districts where German is spoken,* a particular affection exists for the old Scandinavian traditions as well as for *the reading of the old Danish historians.* People, also now, assemble here and there around one or another old man in the villages who still understands Danish, and can read the old chronicles, or Saga-books and listen attentively."

Kohl it is true, now adds, that only few quite understand the reader, some give themselves trouble to refresh their Danish, others express their sorrow that they have forgotten it. But it is self evident, that when we gather around a man in order to hear him read something aloud, we then understand the language in which he reads. The difference between him and his auditors can only be this, that he can *read Danish,* which the others cannot.

These expressions of Kohl find a remarkable confirmation and explanation in the notorious fact which appeared during the advance of our army lately into Angel. Our Jutland and Sealand soldiers to whom however the Germans have not yet awarded the German language as something, of which they should already be in possession,

but only promised them as a gift in future, found in all places, where they marched forward in Angel, no difficulty whatever in speaking with the inhabitants, they understood them and were understood by them. Jutes, Sealanders, and Angles conversed like sons of the same people in good Danish. It was as if the German varnish that had been laid over the Danish in Angel, dissolved itself and let the Danish appear again in its natural form and colours. The soldiers showed the peasants the King's proclamation to the Sleswickers. *But read Danish they could not.* The soldiers read it up for them. *Now they understood it well.* The towns Egernfiord and Sleswick belonging to Svansö and Angel have long since, even earlier than the surrounding land, been Germanized. The popular language in them is low German.

The town of Flensborg has preserved its Danish sympathies better than its Danish language. It is an old damage, the reason for which must be sought, partly in the general causes which effected the diffusion of the German tongue in Sleswick, and partly in the steady and extensive connection of this trading town in particular with German places. Already in the first part of the Sixteenth century Danish and low German was spoken one with the other. Yet the Danish is still in full vigour with the simple man, and this language is preached every Sunday in the church of the Holy Ghost; goods are cried and offered for sale in the streets in Danish, and Danish seamen's songs sound in the harbour.

IX.

To the North of Angel we come at length to districts where the Danish tongue is not only heard amongst the people, but also in the church and school. It is spoken in the greatest part of the jurisdiction of Tönder, the whole of Aabenraa, Lygum-cloister and Haderslev jurisdictions with Törninglehn, the islands of Als and Ærö. Although the language has been far more protected here than in Angel and Svansö, yet it has been annoyed in manifold and various ways, as well by the heads of the clergy with the general superintendant of the district at their head *), by clergymen, who should preach Danish, but did not understand it or did not care to do it properly **), as by the secular authorities, both the judges and directors, who were German. These abuses extended even to that remote place Ærö. They complained in the

*) Törninglehn together with eleven more Southern parishes are however to be excepted, as they, in ecclesiastical affairs, are under the direction of the Danish board of justice and the Bishopric of Ribe.

**) The many comic and partly scurrilous traits of misunderstanding and corruption of the language, during the preaching and other church service, caused by the want of a sufficient knowledge of Danish in those clergymen appointed by the German church superintendant, we regard it as suitable to pass over here, although the truth thereof is but too often strengthened by the peculiar nature of the case.

last part of the former century, "that the inhabitants were continually treated in everything on a German footing, by German officers; all orders, ordinances and decrees were communicated to them in the German language" *).

In some places the German divine service even crept in amongst the Danish population and the Danish churches round about. It was just like an advanced post, that the Germans sent out towards the North, in order to try if there was any ground to be gained there. Thus in Nordborg, Sönderborg, Augustenborg on Als, and Gravensteen in Sundevid. Als and Sundevid together with the jurisdiction of Glücksborg in North Angel were divided as fiefs amongst Princes of the Sönderborg line, who did not neglect to extend the German as far as they could. In the five churches, which the Glücksborg princes had in Sundevid, German preaching was introduced alternately with Danish, and the instruction in schools was changed to German! It even happened once that they appointed a clergyman without inquiring if he understood anything of the people's language, and, as it appeared that he only knew German, he had to be sent in haste to Copenhagen in order to learn a little Danish before he entered on his office. After the decease of the last of the Glücksborg line, in 1779, Danish has again become the church-and-school language. But in the church of Gravensteen, which belongs to the Duke of Augustenborg, German is still preached every third Sunday. — In the

*) Danish Atlas VII. 445. It is remarkable that, just as the island, which had previously been divided amongst different lines of the house of Sönderborg, came again, by degrees, under the Crown, a German Sleswick court of justice was, after representation of the German authorities, introduced here by the edict of 1731 and 1750, so that, for instance, Charles the Fifth's criminal law (Die Karolina), is valid in this Danish land.

whole jurisdiction of Glücksborg in North Angeln, German was preached to the Danish-speaking peasants and the school instruction was German, as long as the princes of Glücksborg possessed the jurisdiction, and in this no change was undertaken, as it devolved to the crown in 1779. In the palace church of Augustenborg German is preached, and in Nordborg German is preached every fourth Sunday. Not only princes but even a single German nobleman who ventured so far up in Sleswick, could not but draw Germanism with him. Thus German sermons have been introduced every third Sunday in the church of Kliplev, between Aabenraa and Flensborg, by the Holstein nobles who have owned the estate of Sögaard, to which the church belongs.

The towns in this part of Sleswick, Æröeskjöbing, Sönderborg, Aabenraa, Haderslev, Tönder and the hamlet of Lygumcloister, are all Danish. Every man understands Danish and speaks it also, except some of the authorities and several others, who, from Sleswick-Holstein fanaticism have determined not to speak anything but German, which they have learned at school. For the language in the school, and partly in the church, does not answer to the people's language, with the exception of Æreskjöbing. In Haderslev, where there still, in Christian the Sixth's time, was Danish preaching three times a week, for twice German, the Danish has since 1806 been referred to the hospital church, where a Danish sermon is preached on Sunday mornings at seven o'clock. In Aabenraa, German is preached in the morning service by the parish clergyman, — in the afternoon, or in summer in the morning early, the curate preaches Danish; German psalms are however sung to the Danish service! In Sönderborg it is the same as in Aabenraa: the parish clergyman preaches

German in the morning service, the curate Danish in the evening service. In all three places the instruction in the schools is German, although the children, when they come first to school, do not in general understand a word of German.

In Tönder there was formerly at least matins in Danish every Sunday, and at the close of the former century there was a Danish school; but in the year 1830 the matins were done away with during the winter, and a half indemnification given in the afternoon service, every other Sunday. In 1835 matins were also set aside in the Summer, and compensated for in the same manner, so that now, Danish service is only heard every other Sunday afternoon. The school instruction has now become exclusively German.

The hamlet of Lygum-cloister is the last outpost that the Germans have sent forth towards the North West, in the midst of a Danish population. Here they have also been satisfied with a modest beginning; German is preached only once a month, the school-instruction is Danish, and only a few hours a week are devoted to the learning of German. This gives an index how they have gone forward in other places, from the lesser to the greater, until at length the mastery was gained.

With all this the language is yet, as we have said, better secured in this part of Sleswick than elsewhere; with the exception of those single spots where the German has fixed itself like a parasitical plant, the Danish church-and-school language gives the inhabitants a security for their mother tongue. It however becomes otherwise when we again turn towards the South and regard the midland part of Sleswick, from the Southern part of the jurisdiction of Tönder and down to Dannevirke, boun-

ded towards the West by the Frisians-land and towards the East by Angeln. Here the old story is repeated, and if possible in a still worse form. A considerable tract of land first meets us, about one hundred square miles (English) in extent, with a population of 35,000 persons, divided into, between thirty and forty parishes. The whole of this population speaks only Danish; nevertheless the school language is exclusively German, and with some few exceptions, the church language is also German. These exceptions are confined thereto, that the clergy in some of the most northward parishes, when they have the will and ability thereto, preach a Danish sermon once a month or so, but the psalms are German. On the South of this tract there is a spot where the people speak Danish and low German alike, until the latter, down towards Dannevirke, gets the upper hand. The church-and-school language here is likewise high German.

The debasement and suppression which the Danish tongue has suffered, and still suffers in the above mentioned considerable tract of land, where the people's language is Danish, and nothing but Danish, is the most disgraceful that exists in the lamentable history of Sleswick's language. Here is such a full measure of injustice and irrationality, such an offence against the most natural and most sacred rights of a people, that one might be tempted to regard it as an impossibility, if the fact were not but too certain. It has happened through centuries, and happens to the present day, that Danish children, in a land that stands under a Danish government, are sent from their parent's home to a school, in order to receive instruction in religion and all the education they get, in a language they never before knew. Formerly they received many an admonition, much instruction about many

things in life in the domestic circle, and learned infantile prayers from a pious mother, all of which went easily to the heart, because they sounded in the tones of their mother tongue. But these shoots were to be broken, the whole of this development was to be stopped as by a sudden check, and everything begun anew, and now in a language that sounded cold and strange, and which they should first learn to understand. They are like plants that are taken away from their natural soil and transplanted in a foreign one, where they are no longer nourished by the dews of heaven and the fresh air, but by artificial warmth and watering. They should exchange life's riches in excitements and instruction, for the poverty of the school, and that of a school which is doubly poor, because it must apply the most of its time to instil a knowledge of the unknown language into the children, and, as the expertness which can be acquired herein during the school hours, must always be highly sparing, from this reason alone the whole religious instruction and everything that is taught besides, becomes something exterior, something that does not penetrate to the heart, or as the Germans themselves express it, *"etwas auswendig Erlerntes"* (something outwardly learned). This is the barbarism of the middle ages, which again appears in these later times, only that low German and high German take the place of monkish Latin. Nor do the results hereof conceal themselves. Every one that has travelled in these districts, could not but have been struck by the dullness, indolence and reserve which is found amongst the inhabitants of these parts compared with the North-Sleswickers, who in general are lively and intelligent.

In order to secure ourselves against being accused of exaggeration, we shall quote what an impartial German-

writing author, (N. A. Jensen, clergyman in Angeln who has published an account of that country), says about several of these parishes.

About the parish of Uberg he says:

"The people's language is Danish; the church-and-school language German. Danish is however sometimes preached."

Of Sönderlygum:

"The language of daily life is Danish; the church and-school language German; yet it is customary to preach Danish every fourth Sunday, many official duties also occur in this language."

Of Ladelund:

"The parishioners are Danes and the children do not understand German when they are put to school, where German shall be taught, as in the church there is also German psalm singing and for the most part German is preached, yet every fourth Sunday Danish, as also other official duties are occasionally performed in this language."

Of Karlum:

"The school instruction is German, although all the children speak Danish, the church language is also German in general, unless the clergyman will at times preach a Danish sermon." —

Of Humstrup:

"Most of the children do not understand one German word when they come to school."

Of Braderup:

"The children do not understand one German word when they are placed in school, where German is taught, and where German is also preached in the church." —

Of Klixböl:

"The church-and-school language is German. The people's for the most part Danish."

Of Middelby:

"The conversational language is Danish. The children do not understand any German before they come to school. Danish is also preached at times."

Of Læk:

"Partly Frisians and partly Danes.... Danish in the villages of Stadum, Achterup, Sandacker, Sprakebüll and in several single places, where the German is mostly unknown to the children before they come to school.... church-and-school language high German.

Of Valsböl:

"The popular language for the most part Danish the church-and-school language German."

Of Joldelund:

"The children when they come to school only know Danish" *).

What has been stated here will be more apparent by the aid of some statistical observations. Outzen was the first who attempted a statistic representation of the state of things, and as a fundamental reason for it he took the number of parishes. According to his account there are in the land, when we leave the town-churches out of consideration, about forty parishes

*) Jensen. Kirchl. Statistik von Schleswig. p. 29. Jensen says of this tract of land There are sixteen or twenty parishes between Tondern, Bredstedt and Flensborg with a population of fifteen to seventeen thousand persons, where the children when they come to school must first begin by learning a foreign language; how disadvantageous this must be, and what an impropriety strikes the observer." — But both the parishes and the population is much greater. See forward.

in which Frisian is spoken, and full forty German, in which that language is both spoken and employed in church and school; one hundred and eighteen parishes in which Danish is the conversational as well as the church-and-school language, and about sixty parishes where Danish is the popular language, but German that of the school and church. The balance is therefore decidedly on the Danish side; but although the number of parishes is correct, this calculation would not however give any correct picture of the actual state of things, as the more Southern German parishes are better populated than the more Northern Danish. We will therefore, (although it ought not to be overlooked, that that area of the land over which the Danish tongue is extended, has also some weight in judging of the relative proportion of the languages), keep to the number of inhabitants and follow Professor Paulsen in his representation.

According to the census of the year 1835, Sleswick had on its surface of 680 square miles (English) a population of 338,192 persons. Those parts of the country in which Danish can be reckoned as entirely or partly the popular language, may be placed under the three following divisions:

First division

Where both the people's language and school-and-church language is Danish:

On about 300 square miles in 116 parishes 113,256

Second division:

Where the people's language is Danish, but the church-and-school language for the most part German:

On about 100 square miles in 37 parishes 48,250

161,506

Transport 161,506

Third division:

Where the people for the most part understand and in part still speak Danish 33,552

On about 500 square miles . . . . . Total 195,058

The rest of the inhabitants of Sleswick are part Frisians and part speak German.

Those speaking Frisian 26,815

Those speaking German 116,319

Total 338,192

By the census of 1835 the population in the Duchy of Sleswick was 338,192; in the following five years it rose to 348,526, in the year 1845 it was about 363,000. Thus in the space of ten years, between 1835 and 1845 the population has got an increase of about 25,000 persons. As it is a reasonable supposition, that the different divisons of the language have increased during that time in about the same equal proportion, we may without danger of any fault of consequence, distribute this increase in an equal ratio in the different divisions. Thereby we get the following amount of numbers which will come very near to the real state of the case at the present moment:

First Division with Danish language and the same church-and-school language on an area of 300 square miles (English) in 116 parishes . . 121,500

Second Division where the popular language is Danish but the church-and-school language German on an area of about 100 square miles (English) in 37 parishes 51,700

On about 400 English square miles in 153 parishes	173,200	
Third Division, where the people for the most part understand and where they partly speak Danish	36,000	
The whole of the Danish-speaking population is then on an area of about 500 square miles		209,200
Speaking Frisian		28,800
Speaking German		125,000
	Together	363,000

Thus there are in Sleswick 173,200 persons, on an area of 400 square miles out of 680 square miles, for whom Danish is the mother tongue, pure and unmixed, whilst only 125,000 speak low, or high German. The proportion becomes still more favorable when we add to this the third Danish Division, which we are entitled to, as Danish is here the original and natural language, which is understood and partly spoken by the most, and maintains its ground of itself, whilst the low German is a forced language only kept alive by the German school instruction. The proportion would then be as 209,000 Danish to 125,000 German. If we reckon the Frisians to the Germans (which we are far less entitled to, as the Frisian stock of words is almost equally as different from the German as the Danish is from the German): then the proportion would be 209,000 Danish to 154,000 German, consequently the majority is still considerably on the Danish side. If however we exclude the third Danish Division, but continue to reckon the Frisians to those speaking German, then the result of the proportion would be thus: 173,000 Danish and 154,000 German.

If we leave the third Danish Division and the Frisians out of consideration: we then get the first given proportion of 173,000 speaking pure Danish, and 125,000 speaking low or high German. Consequently whichever way we take it, the Danes have a majority over the Germans, both with respect to population and that extent of country they inhabit.

That the Danish language in Sleswick after having gone through so many adversities has yet been able to come to such a favorable result is owing to several exterior and accidental circumstances which, in some degree, have formed a counterbalance against the many misfortunes.

To those must be first reckoned the geographical situation of the country towards Germany. That line of communication which Sleswick has in the South part with Germany, by Dannevirke, between Trene and the Slie, is extremely short in proportion to the size of the land. Had the country, instead of offering this short line of communication, extended itself in its whole length along the frontiers of Germany, the circumstances would have been far more unfavorable and the German language more difficult to keep out. The district nearest to the North of that is also very thinly peopled. The many firths, which cut their way into the land from the East and form just as many peninsulas, were likewise an important hindrance to the entrance of this foreign language. It is true, the Holstein nobility passed over Egern-firth and occupied Svansö, and afterwards over the Slie into the Southern part of Angel: but that this geographical position has not been without import, may be concluded from this circumstance, that it is first from this century, that the low German has got a sort of mastery over the Danish in

the vicinity of the Slie. The islands of Als and Ærö were still more cut off and secured by their situation. The next very fortunate circumstance was, that a considerable number of parishes, about sixty, have stood and still continue to stand, as regards the administration of church affairs, under the Danish board of justice and home department, and managed by Danish bishops. Under the see of Ribe there are the clergy in 1) Törninglehn (the western part of Haderslev jurisdiction), which includes twenty nine churches with twenty five clergymen. 2) Loherred consisting of eight parishes. 3) Mögeltönder and Höier Herred with three parishes. The eleven last parishes stand likewise, in respect to secular matters, for the greatest part under the jurisdiction of Ribe. If we add to these Manö and the two churches in Ribe, then there are forty three parishes, within the boundaries of the Duchy, that are under the see of Ribe. The islands of Als and Ærö formerly belonged to the diocese of Funen, but in the later times they form a bishoprick of themselves, whose eighteen churches with twenty clergymen, are under the direction of the Danish home department, except two churches which are under the general superintendant. That this state of things has exercised a very considerable influence on the preservation and maintenance of the Danish language in these districts is apparent in itself. The endeavours of the Germans to carry everything to the point of perfection has been a hindrance to them in the completion of their own plans. They were, as we have remarked, not satisfied with bringing the Danish population to speak low German, they would also — particularly in later times — drive them on to high German. This made the work of destruction proceed at a slower rate, as the promotion of

two languages after each other, cost double work and time, and poor as it is to reckon this amongst the fortunate circumstances, yet it must be added thereto. That the German tongue, although it has been worked on during centuries, has not been able to gain any ground in that great district between Friesland and Angeln, where Danish is spoken, must be almost entirely attributed to the circumstance, that schooling is much more neglected here than in any other place in Sleswick. The fields in this part of the country are not enclosed, therefore the children are employed a considerable part of the year to watch cattle, and thus neglect the school. Unnatural circumstances produce unnatural effects. What must be complained of everywhere in the world under other circumstances as a misfortune, must here be accounted as a fortunate event. We Danes cannot but wish that the German school instruction in these parts may continue to be as bad as possible, that the schools may be much neglected, until a natural state of things is brought about, by the introduction of Danish school instruction.

But first and last it was however, as we have already stated, the true and insurmountable affection of the Danish population for their mother tongue, and its own inexhaustible life and power of resistance, that placed a barrier against the advance of Germanism. That the Danish language in Sleswick has a sound, fresh, and strong living root, and where it is expelled is only expelled by violence: of this the leaders of the Sleswick-Holsteinism party must themselves bear witness.

Thus when the Sleswick deputy Dröhse, came forward in the provincial states assembly in 1838 with the assertion that Sleswick was a German land, he was refuted by Counsellor Falck, who on the same occasion

replied to several expressions in a similar spirit and thereby remarked:

"I must deny that the German language will in a short time become the general one in Sleswick, there is no prospect of it whatever in those districts where the Danish is church-and-school language. Thousands of years can yet pass away before this be the case. The Danish language has been expelled by violent measures in the South Eastern part of the Duchy."

We attach weight to this testimony, not so much for the case itself (for that is certain enough without it), as because it emanates from a man, who is one of the most renowned and indefatigable champions of Sleswick-Holsteinism, a born Sleswicker, regarded as an able historian and teacher of jurisprudence in the university of Kiel.

This may perhaps serve to open the eyes and ears of some of those Germans, who made blind and deaf by fanaticism, will not believe the *"one sided"* Danish assertions.

X.

But in order to complete the picture of that misery whose pressure has, during a long time, rested and still rests on the Danish language in Sleswick, some traits are yet to be added which will make it understood how the German has been able to make its way into the upper classes in the towns and extend itself in some districts in the country. To this account there first belongs the circumstance, that all the upper institutions for education are German and under the direction of German teachers. There is not to be found in the whole of Sleswick, a grammar school, not a commercial school, nay scarcely a school for the lower classes of the people in the towns that is Danish; the peasant schools in a part of the country are the only Danish ones; but even these are exposed to the influence of Germanism as there are no Danish high-schools for school teachers; the only seminary for parish schoolmasters is German, and founded in a German-minded town, Tönder. When the students leave the German grammar-schools they are, in consequence of the edict of 1768, bound to stay at least two years at the German university in Kiel.

Thus all the institutions whence the higher human education and accomplishment is derived, where the national literature should be cultivated and the language

nourished, are German, although the country has a Danish population, which in number far exceeds the German. It is first of late years that, by the endeavours of the people, they have succeeded in founding a high-school in Rödding for the sons of peasants, and a few days before the breaking out of the revolt, the government issued a command to transform Haderslev German grammar school into a Danish one. This the government did at last, having been for many years reminded and exhorted, both by petitions and through the press, to do something in order to put an end to so unnatural a state of things and help the reasonable and just complaints of the Sleswickers. The effect of the whole of the public instruction being given into the power of the Germans, has shown itself in those days during the combat for language, as a proportionally small number of native Sleswickers, who by their scientific education were called on to defend their mother tongue, which was placed in danger, have fulfilled this duty, whilst many have insulted it, disowned it and trod it under foot. A contempt for the mother tongue could not do otherwise than develop itself under that existing state of affairs. If Danish tones only sounded by the cradle of the child and he heard only this in daily life from his parents during his growth up, so a stranger needed only to announce himself, who was a little better off in the world than his parents, and they directly came forth with the German Sunday language and bungled at it, even if it went on never so miserably *).

*) We shall here give some examples of such genteel high German in Sleswick according to Kohl (Nationalitet und Sprache in Herzogthum Schleswick. P. 212): — "O *in den Hinsehende* steht der Ackerbau in *Fün* auf einem sehr hohen *trin.*" — "Ich blieb *auszenvor.*" — "Ich möchte *im Vorwege* bemerken." — "Ein Paar *rasche* Mädchen." — "Das mag *der Poker* wissen." — "Das *soll* ich wohl thun." — "Ich

If the boy afterwards went to school he got German teachers and heard only German around him. He now soon made the reasonable conclusion, that Danish must be an extremely inferior and unworthy language, in comparison with the German, and useless except in the very simplest circumstances. What the school had given, was confirmed and continued at the university of Kiel, which he at length left as a perfectly Germanised Sleswicker. Thus the intelligent Sleswicker has learned to despise his mother tongue, and what one does not respect, it is difficult to love *).

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kann Sie *unter Zeiten* nicht verstehen." — "Du kannst *schlecht nichts* machen." — "Unsere *hierseienden* Mitbrüder." — "Das *soll* ich *noch* thun." [ɔ: "I shall certainly do it", Danish: "Jeg skal nok gjöre det."] "Das ist *nicht werth und* fangen an."

A few other examples are communicated by C. Paulsen: (Ueber Volksthümlichkeit im Schleswick) P. 37. Note 2: — "Komm ein; lauf aus; geh mit ihr durch und bring sie dann um." —

Kohl therefore justly says about the Germanized Sleswickers language P. 215: For the rest I must confess that amongst all those who speak low German, they speak the least agreeable German.

As an example of low German we may cite "Jensen on Angeln." P. 147: — "Wi hem sonst Dänsk wesen, men nu siin wi Düdsk bläwen!" —

*) Counsellor Falck may serve as an excellent example. One should think that this man, who is born in the town of Emmerlev in the jurisdiction of Tönder, where Danish is spoken, and where the church even, belongs to the diocese of Ribe! — would, both by his birth and situation, regard himself as the born and appointed guardian of his oppressed mother tongue, and embrace it with deep affection. But far from it. He cannot, as a historian, avoid acknowledging the existence of incontestible facts; but he has no kindness, no feeling for the Danish language. This he has shown, amongst other things, by standing up against those, who thought it most just, that German church-and-school language should give place to the Danish in those districts where the people speak Danish. Ten years ago he expressed himself as we have previously quoted; if he would now do it after the more hostile position he has since taken up, is doubtful, and it is not impossible that he has changed his opinion about this, as he did about the succession in Sleswick, which he once regarded as being the same as in Denmark.

These effects even extended themselves further than to those in public offices and the higher classes of citizens in the towns: they also extended to the peasants. The peasant, in general, stuck close to his mother tongue; but when he heard the clergyman, the schoolmaster, the judge, and the higher classes of citizens in the towns speak their German, this opinion could not but be easily confirmed in his mind, that German must be a far more genteel language and that it was well if he could speak it together with the Danish. The mismanagement and complete want of care in the church-and-school, to which the Danish language was submitted had however a much worse effect. A popular language that is thus left to itself, stands in the greatest danger of being spoiled and degenerated. Just as the book-language, in order to preserve its freshness and naturality, requires to be fertilized by the living stream of the popular tongue, so must this again be held in awe by the stricter rules and discipline of the book-language, if it shall not be broken down by carelessness, dullness and ignorance. It is as by a miracle that the popular tongue in these districts has maintained itself so long under such conditions, without receiving greater damage than it has.

A Sleswick clergyman expressed himself in the following manner, at the close of the former century respecting several of these points in question:

"One cannot imagine anything so unnatural, and for a Dane so offensive, as that sway which the German language has obtained in a real Danish province, where the whole of the commonalty scarcely understand a complete German sentence. At the tribunals where the good old King Waldemar's Jutland law should still be valid, all causes are carried on in German. You can easily

imagine the foolishness of eight Danish peasants having to stand as public witnesses and listening to what two German pettifoggers quarrel about at the general assizes. How grievous it would be for you or me to hear our cause pleaded and judged in the Russian language. I pray you to imagine curiosity and stupidity painted in the faces of my congregation when I must read from the pulpit a German edict, placard or order, whose *stilus curiæ* in its long and screwed up meanings is so incomprehensible to myself, that I must previously arrange a short context thereof in Danish, and, after the original has been read, tell my congregation, in our mother tongue, what it is. Here never comes the least order from the bailiff of the district, the chief clerk, or the estate bailiff, except it be in German. One might wonder how this could be, as most of the bailiffs who come to Sleswick, are Danish, but the cause is easy enough to conceive: a Danish courtier who formerly, so much the worse, heard more German than Danish at court, comes to live here in a provincial town ..... here he hears the traders and public officers all speak German, such as it is; for their every-day language is miserable; and from this he concludes that the whole jurisdiction is German, when however, if he spoke with a thousand peasants in his district not ten of them could answer him in German. In the next place, if such a Danish courtier comes into office and into business that he is unacquainted with, he cannot for the sake of formality even use his good Danish sense. He goes carefully forward, foot by foot, after old custom, in his revolutions; a practised and accustomed clerk must be taken; this clerk who does not know how to write a line of Danish, publishes everything after ancient forms in German, and always the same terms in

similar cases; thereby everything remains and goes on in its regular German tone amongst Danish subjects. But the inconveniences that arise from this, are greater than can be imagined. Hence come the long, expensive and entirely destructive law suits; hence comes the usual inconvenience between the Danish and German board of justice, with much more"*).

An anonymous German tourist, who travelled in Sleswick in the year 1800 describes the German nationality of the higher classes in the following terms:

"Whoever does not wear wooden shoes in the Northern districts of the Duchy of Sleswick, or whoever drives with mounted harness, or has a calesche or hood on his waggon, or rides on an English saddle, or is a clergyman, or a great public officer, or dressed in fashionable clothes, such a one you may address in German, for he understands the German language. All the rest speak Danish."

When the Germans bring forward a support for their assertion about the German nationality of Sleswick, from the circumstance that the low German has made its way into some few tracts of the land: then this assertion has not any particularly firm ground to stand on. The low German and high German are not the same, they are two different languages. The low German is by no means in proportion to the high German as a common dialect is to the conversational and written language of the well educated. The high German has its common dialects, and low German, which was once a written language, has its different dialects. Low German differs in the con-

*) J. A. Dyssel, clergyman in Nustrup. Travels in the country in 1763.

struction of the language, the syntax and the whole grammar, very considerably from high German; of the stock of words it has a far greater mass in common with Danish, than the Danish and high German have reciprocally in common; it approaches by its simplicity and naturality in the construction of the words and spirit of the language just as much to the Northern tongue, as it is removed from the affected and perverted construction of sentences and high flown bombast of the high German. When there now comes to the former original approach and agreement between low German and Danish, this circumstance, that in those districts, where the low German has forced its way in between the Danish, it has been in a very considerable degree penetrated and sprinkled with Danish, filled up with Danish words, peculiar Danish expressions and turns: so we shall find it reasonable, that this low German has a far greater resemblance with Danish than with high German, and that the reason which the Germans adduce from this kind of language, in order to prove that Sleswick is a German land, does not signify much. We then also understand, that a language of this nature could find a much easier entrance into the Danish frontier districts.

XI.

But the Germans have not been satisfied with suppressing and, as far as it lay in their power, rooting out the Danish language in Sleswick; they have even sought to deprive it of the name of Danish. "Ein Volkspatois, Rabendänish" — (A vulgar patois, gibberish) are the honourable titles with which they designate this language; it is so hateful to them because it is a living witness of Sleswick's Danish nationality, of which, however willingly they would, they cannot in any way get rid of. Yes, if they should say their real meaning, so it is in fact a German language, which by the help of the Danish church-and-school language has only got a sort of appearance of Danish, *"eine dänische Farbung"* *).

*) "Twelve Fables in the North Sleswick dialect with a translation in the written language. Collected by Dr. Gottlieb (probably pseudonym). With a preface by Dr. C. Heiberg. Husum 1844. Page 7 Dr. Heiberg says: "That the dialect in the North of Sleswick has more of a Danish colour, is simply explained thus, that the original popular tongue has, centuries ago, been enriched by the modern Danish church-and-school language. Thereby they have received by degrees "a Danish colouring". The twelve Fables in the North Sleswick popular tongue, as the title says, are translated into the written language: and that written language in which they are translated, is *German.* Counsellor Falck has also understood Dr. Heiberg, who does not express himself in very intelligible words, as if he meant, that the Danish in Sleswick was in fact German.

We might in fact leave these assertions to themselves, as long as they are not supported by any reasonable grounds, and confine ourselves to advise such a doubting German first to learn Danish, so that he can perfectly understand it, and not only be able to spell his way through a book, and then set out for Sleswick, hear the people speak, and then believe his own ears. Yet we will not refuse to meet our opponents on this point, although we are in some perplexity, as we seek for their reasons and cannot find them anywhere. We come involuntarily, on hearing these German judgements about the Danish language in Sleswick, to think of the story about the Frenchman, who made a trip to Germany and came back and told his countrymen, that they had no proper language in Germany, but spoke a sort of gibberish which no one could understand. Yet added he, they know well enough how to make themselves mutually understood.

In every country there will always be a considerable difference between the written language and the spoken language; and the spoken language of the educated classes will again diviate much from that of the less educated. But the difference will be still greater if we look to the different provinces of which a land consists. Many peculiarities appear here which have their foundation in the different ways in which the words are pronounced; in one province they are fond of long vowels or dipthongs, in another short; the transposition of certain letters is favoured more in one place than another, in some provinces certain consonants are exchanged for others; and lastly the accent and the whole modulation of speech differs very much in the different provinces. In the North of England they do not speak as in the South of Eng-

land; but it will therefore never be a reason for any one to assert, that an inhabitant of the North of England does not speak English, any more than a Parisian will assert than they do not speak French in the South or West of France.

Another important reason why the spoken language in a province deviates from the book-language or written language, is founded on this cause, that the inhabitants of provinces, with regard to language, are in general more conservative than the inhabitants of great towns. It is a very general observation in all countries, that the inhabitants of provinces have preserved a great number of good old words, which are obsolete in the written language and have disappeared from the spoken language of the refined classes, who keep nearest to the written language.

On account of these circumstances, both the peculiarities of the pronunciation and the greater fidelity in preserving the old language, the conversational language of the commonalty in the country will always differ considerably from the written language, and this applies not less to North Jutland, Funen and Bornholm, than to South Jutland. But to declare the language of a province as not Danish for these reasons: there certainly belongs great thoughtlessness and more than common ignorance of languages, or a bad will.

We will here cite the words of a man, whose assertions can certainly counterbalance those of the former. — They are those of the celebrated linguist Outzen, a native of Sleswick, who, in a work published in German, states as follows about the Danish language of the people in South Jutland.

"Without placing our language in comparison with any other language whatever, without praising it in any way or extolling it at the expense of any other language, or debasing it by comparison with other languages, I will only say this one thing about it: it is our real old language.

For in the country, where we do not meet with such a mixture of foreigners and foreign languages; where they in general like to keep to old customs, the language is, generally regarded, still the same, on the whole still unchanged, although a little different according to the dialects .... I believe that a lower or a higher dialect of one and the same language can very well exist and be suffered beside each other. Yet the peasant in Sealand and Funen not only speaks quite differently to the townsman of Copenhagen and Odensee, but much more so than in a Danish book. And has this ever been otherwise amongst persons speaking a more or less refined language? — So it was in Italy, and so it was in Greece."

There is a peculiarity in the popular language both in South Jutland and the greater part of North Jutland that may be stated in a few words. It consists in this, that the inhabitants do not affix the definite article to the end of the word, which is the custom in Danish and generally in Scandinavian languages, but instead thereof place an æ before the substantive in the singular as well as in the plural, and therefore do not say Manden, (the man), Huset (the house), but æ Mand, æ Huus (the man, the house) — not Mændene, Husene (the men, the houses) — but æ Mænd, æ Huus. This peculiarity is extended over the whole Danish part of South and North Jutland up to the lakes around Skanderborg and Himmelbierg, then

follows the Guden-rivulet until it bends towards the East, then turns towards the West and passes to the East of Viborg up towards the Liimfiord, likewise including Thy. This peculiarity, in connection with the natural frontiers, certainly indicates an ancient separation between the tribes of the peninsula — but it is not sufficient to make the Danish, either in North or South Jutland, German. Nor has it ever been received into the written language: neither in runic inscriptions nor in the laws of South Jutland is there any trace of it.

What most perplexes our German judges of language, who are so little acquainted with the Danish and Northern tongue, is the number of words and inflections that appear in the popular language of South Jutland, but have gone out of use in the printed language, or have never had a place there. A great number of these are to be found again in the Old-Northern or Icelandic. Icelanders who have travelled in South Jutland have been astonished at the great number of Icelandic words and phrases that still existed there in the popular tongue. The most of them appear likewise in other Danish lands, in the language of the commonalty or are found in the elder Danish book-language; others are used in Norway and Sweden, partly in the written language and partly amongst the people; some also are to be found in the English language, which is near akin to the Danish.

We shall make this clear by a few examples:

Aabod, remuneration; used in the elder judicial language; Seeland ábót.

Aussel, excrescence; Icelandic. æxl or æxli.

Davre, breakfast; used amongst the common people in most of the provinces; Icelandic dagverdr.

Fikke, a pocket; elder Danish and still used in Swedish, — Icelandic ficki.

fige, to strive, to hanker after; appears in elder Danish, still used in Swedish; Icelandic. at fykjast.

feig, — death's, destined to die; still used in this signification in Norway; Icelandic. feigr.

Gild, able, brisk, active; elder Danish. Icelandic gildr.

Grande, Grandestevne; neighbour, a meeting of neighbours and townsmen, elder Danish and still used in Norway and Sweden. Icelandic granni and grannastefna.

Jatte, to promise, to say yes; Icelandic játa.

Kaad, cot, hut; elder Danish; Icelandic kot.

Karm, a state carriage; elder Danish.

knöv, witty, smart, active; used in several provinces; Icelandic, knæfr.

knyste, to cough slightly; used also in North Jutland and Funen.

Krik, a cricket.

Leve, a loaf; elder Danish, Icelandic. leifr.

Lime, a sweeping-brush; elder Danish, used also in North Jutland and several places in Sweden, Icelandic. limi.

Mool, a thick cloud; Swedish Moln.

Mulle, a number; akin with mylre; Icelandic múgi, number.

Mude, to bribe; still used in Norwegian and Swedish, Icelandic, at múta.

Skranne, to roar with laughter; used both in North and South Jutland; Swedish skratta.

Stout, proud; elder Danish and used both in North and South Jutland.

Swime, to swoon; elder Danish, Icelandic at svima.
Svarrer, a turner; Swedish svarfvare; Icelandic, sverfa, to scrape off, to file.
Söne, deny, refuse; Icelandic, at synja.
Unne, dinner; used in North and South Jutland and Funen, as well as in several Swedish provinces.
Töis, twice; in elder Danish tösser, Icel. tysvar.
Vante, to want; Icelandic, at vanta.
Öve, to shout; Icelandic, at æpa.

To these may still be added a number of expressions, which indicate ancient Danish agricultural affairs, such as Alminding (a common), Tofte (an enclosed field near a house, or the home-field.) Vang (an enclosed field, or close.) Stuvland (land taken from a larger quantity and enclosed.) Særmærker (separate fields), Ornum, (an old Danish word signifying ground taken from a larger parcel belonging to several, and made over to one man.) Aftægt, (annual allowance to one who has given up his farm to another.) etc. etc.

Such words bring our German philologists somewhat into perplexity, but they however soon help themselves out of it, by declaring such expressions to be either German or by reckoning them to this "low Danish" — or "gibberish" —, which no person can understand. We believe however that we have cited reasons enough to show that the popular language in South Jutland is good old Danish and derives its origin from the old Scandinavian language.

Some years ago an attempt was made to give a clear proof that the popular tongue in South Jutland was not Danish, but, if it should be called a language, on the whole, it was nearest to, and originally German, which in the course of time had got a Danish colouring.

— This proof was the before mentioned twelve fables published by Advocate Heiberg, in the South Jutland popular language, with a translation, as it was called, in the written language, which was German. This attempt however ended in a complete prostitution. The publisher was so unfortunate as to prove directly the contrary of that he intended and wished. He hovered between the endeavour to show that they spoke gibberish or German in South Jutland, and unfortunately came to give proofs that the common people there speak just as good Danish as in any other part of Denmark.

As examples we shall present the two first pieces with which the book begins:

The popular language.	The written language.
Da oll e Dyr i gammel Dau kund' snak med hvoranner, var der en Mand, som tit ga Aut deraa, hva di soy, aa skröv et op i en gammel Bog. De er saadan Historer, som e Börn gjen la dem fortæl, aa som gammel Folk har Nytt aa Gaun a, aa derfor heller ei let glemmer. Vi har no sögt nauer Fortællinger ur a den gammel Bog, aa no kan I sjell löis dem aa see, hva Forstand der er deri.	Da alle Dyrene i gamle Dage kunde snakke med hverandre, var der en Mand som tit gav Agt paa, hvad de sagde, og skrev det op i en gammel Bog. Der er saadanne Historier som Börnene gjerne lade dem fortælle, og som gamle Folk har Nytte og Gavn af, og derfor heller ikke let glemmer. Vi har nu sögt nogle Fortællinger ud af den gamle Bog, og nu kan I selv læse dem og see hvad Forstand der er deri.

"See, soy den lille Mikkel, der har e Raun taun den Vost, som vi saa læng har hây Lyst te; kund vi it tei en fra ham, hvonær vi oll sammel gik löis aa ham?"

"De gaaer it," soy den gammel Mikkel, "seer do it han er olleree flöven op aa de höiest Træ."

"See, sagde den lille Mikkel, der har Ravnen taget den Ost, som vi saa længe har havt Lyst til; kunde vi ikke tage den fra ham, naar vi allesammen gik lös paa ham?"

"Det gaaer ikke an" — sagde den gamle Mikkel, "seer du ikke han er allerede flöien op paa den höieste Træ."

English translation.

When all the animals in former days could talk with one another, there was a man who often paid attention to what they said, and wrote it down in an old book. They are such stories as children are fond of hearing related, and which old folks have use and profit of, and therefore do not easily forget. We have now taken some tales out of this old book, and now you can read them yourself and see what sense there is in them.

"See there, said the little fox, the raven has taken the cheese we have so long had a desire for; could we not take it from him, if we all together rushed upon him?"

"It will not do," said the old fox, "don't you see that he has already flown up into the highest tree."

Of the story of the Prodigal son we communicate the following as a specimen of Danish spoken in the province of Angel:

Anglo-danish.

En Man hoi to Sönner, o den yngest a dem soi te æ Far: Far gi mæ den Diel a æ Goss, der hör mæ (te). O han dield æ Goss imell'm dem. O int laant deretter, saa saankedt den yngest Sön olt sammel o drauw ur a æ. Land laant væk o forkomm der sit Goss mæ lirrele Lævnd. Elauv han no höi fortært olt sit, saa blöw der en stur dyr Ti i hiel Land o han begyndt' aa vant. O han gik hen o holdt sæ te jin a æ Folk der i æ Land; den skikked ham te Marks o varr aa æ Sviin. O han var tefræes aa fyll' sin Mau mæ Mask te æ Sviin aad o Inne ga ham naur.

Danish.

En Mand havde to Sönner, og den yngste af dem sagde til Faderen: Fader giv mig den Deel af Godset, der hörer mig til. Og han deelte Godset imellem dem. Og ikke længe derefter saa sankede den yngste Sön alt sammen og drog ud af Landet langt væk og forkom der sit Gods med liderligt Levnet. Da han nu havde fortæret alt sit, saa blev der en stor dyr Tid i hele Landet og han begyndte at mangle. Og han gik hen og holdt sig til en af Folket der i Landet; denne skikkede ham til Marks at tage vare paa Svinene. Og han var tilfreds at fylde sin Mave med Mask som Svinene aad og Ingen gav ham noget.

A man had two sons, and the younger of them said to his father; Father give me that part of the estate that falleth to me. And he divided the estate between them. And not long afterwards the younger son gathered all together, and took his way into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land,

and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to look after the swine. And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat; and no man gave unto him.

The above is pure, thorough Danish; nothing German is to be found therein. The word "*vante*", wants, is used not only in South Jutland but also in North Jutland as well on the East as on the west side, and is an old Northern word, which appears also in older Danish and Norwegian authors. (Icelandic, at vanta).

As a comparison with the Anglo-danish we give the following piece from the West-Jutland popular tongue:

West-Jutland.	Danish.
No blöw a ledt alvorle, o saa saae a te ham: "vild' du da heller skilles fræ di Muer o di Faaer? Hwem sku' saa hjælpp mæ o dryww e Goer, næer a blywwer gammel o swaggele? hwem skuld' arre 'en atter mæ? Næer a brækked naat op aa e Hie o wor Haer lod deile Kuen groe dæer, hu der faer stoj Lyöng te e Knæer, saa waa de alstej mi stöst Glee o tænkk te a arbeded faa dæj."	Nu blev jeg lidt alvorlig, og saa sagde jeg til ham: "vilde du da heller skilles fra din Moder og din Fader? Hvem skulde saa hjælpe mig at drive Gaarden, naar jeg bliver gammel og svagelig? Hvem skulde arve den efter mig? Naar jeg brækkede noget op af Heden og vor Herre lod deilig Korn groe der, hvor der för stod Lyng til Knæerne, saa var det altid min störste Glæde at tænke, at jeg arbeidede for dig."

(English translation.)

I now became a little serious and so I said to him: will you then rather be separated from your father and your mother? Who should then help me to cultivate the farm when I become old and feeble? Who should inherit it after me? — When I broke up some of the heath and the Lord let fine corn grow there, where there before stood ling up to the knees, so it was always my greatest pleasure to think, that I worked for you."

It must appear to everybody, that the examples taken from the popular language of South-Jutland and Angel, are just as near, if not nearer, to the written language, as those of North-Jutland.

The attempt, previously mentioned was so clumsy, that one of the parties' own spokesmen, Counsellor Falck, found himself called on to reply against it and express his disapproval, both of the form and contents, of Dr. Heiberg's libel, and thereby he did his own party, who had been too much prostituted, a good service.

His words are as follow:

"That the language which is spoken in the Northern part of Sleswick belongs to the Danish family of languages, no philologist or impartial man can for one moment be in doubt. The honourable editor (Dr. Heiberg) certainly seems to doubt if the dialects in the Northern part of Sleswick belong to the Danish language or not. If we understand him rightly, he regards the dialects of North Sleswick as German. He describes them in part as not Danish, and partly he asserts without further circumstance that these dialects have received a Danish colouring from the modern school-and-church language; thus they must in fact be German. The same view of

the case is expressed in the title of the book. How such a conception of the matter can have taken place is inconceivable to me. According to all reason there cannot exist any doubt whatever, as the case is clear in itself. Every possible doubt must entirely disappear if we only compare the North Sleswick dialect with the Danish people's dialects in the different parts of the kingdom."

XII.

As the German philologists are thus not able to make the popular tongue in Sleswick to anything else than what it is, namely Danish: so there is another point, in which it may seem that their endeavours might be crowned with better success. If even they must acknowledge, that the language of the commonalty is Danish, they affirm, that the intelligent part is exclusively German, that the whole of the higher and spiritual life touches and moves on German ground.

We have previously stated, how the Danish Sleswicker, if he will not abandon his mother tongue and nationality, is excluded from all the institutions for education, through which the state everywhere else procures her future men of science, poets, national authors and place-men that higher education, which is the condition for their future activity, as all the Latin schools, commercial schools and seminarys for schoolmasters are German, and the foreign university, where the students are bound to stay at least two years, is likewise German. If therefore the matter stood exactly thus, as our opponents assert, no one would find it strange or unexpected, but only regret it as a result of that great injustice, which is done to the Danish Sleswicker.

Should it on the contrary appear, that there is both found in Sleswick a considerable element of Danish education and intelligence, and that Danish literature has received considerable ornaments and enrichments, from men who are born in Danish-speaking districts of Sleswick, even in a greater proportion than the German literature from the same districts, so it is clear that the previous assertion must be understood with considerable restriction, and that the Danish veins in Sleswick (which the many other facts we have cited, also indicate) must possess an unusual strength, since Danism is thus able to break its way through all bars, which they place before it, and all the hindrances, with which they seek to subdue and suppress it.

There are one hundred and seventeen parishes in Sleswick, in which the Danish church-and-school language reigns exclusively; the clergymen and schoolmasters of these parishes can just as little be supposed to be excluded from the number of the educated, as one can suppose that they should be strangers to Danish literature and Danish scientific refinement. This charge certainly cannot be applied to that half part of them who are appointed through the Danish board of justice, nor can it in general apply to the other half part, who are appointed through the German board of justice. For even if some be found amongst them who keep to the German, and in several respects attend badly to their calling as Danish ministers of the gospel, yet the most of them will, even by the nature of their office and with regard to the Danish congregation, whose spiritual welfare is committed to their care, and whose development and cultivation they must watch over, be led involuntarily to occupy themselves with Danish literature and matters of science. —

Amongst the agriculturists also, and amongst the citizens in the towns there are found many Danish-speaking Sleswickers, who may lay good claim to he reckoned amongst the educated classes.

As representatives for Danish-Sleswick education and refinement we must further reckon those men of science and the many civil and military officers, who born in Danish districts of Sleswick, are afterwards appointed to places in the kingdom; the painters, sculptors, and musicians who leave their native place for the capital, which opens a wider field for their activity, and offers them means for improvement and cultivation, which they felt the want of at home. They live here as Danes, speak and write Danish, and no one observes any difference between them and Danes from other parts of the kingdom. This one cannot regard as something accidental, nor can it be explained as a result of the influence of the Danish circle wherein they live. For there are also many Holsteiners who live in Copenhagen, but they are, and remain, German, although their circle of friends must also have an influence on them, if there were not something in themselves that prevented it, and that is their foreign nationality. But the Danish Sleswicker feels and behaves himself like a Dane amongst Danes, because the nationality is the same. This is just the bond of union.

Other Sleswickers have passed through the fiery ordeal, for their mother tongue and nationality, of the German schools and German university, without losing their affection for them, and have stood up in their own homes as their defenders with so much greater zeal and warmth, as they of their own long experience knew, in what debasement their mother tongue was held. As such we may name the chief defenders in the combat for the Sles-

wick language and nationality, C. Wimpfen and C. Paulsen; as well as Nis Hansen, who was educated at the German grammar-school in Sleswick and has since shown himself as an able workman in the Danish cause.

The state of things that shows itself is remarkable, when we consider the connection of the Danish Sleswickers with literature. According to the assertion of the Germans respecting their sole possession of the intelligence, cultivation, and education throughout the whole Duchy, one might expect that all or yet most of the Sleswickers had deposited the fruits of their literary labours in German, and none or few in the Danish literature. But the state of things is quite otherwise.

If we examine Lybkers and Schröders "authors-lexicon", which comprehends the period from 1796 to 1828 and regard those authors who wrote in that period and were born in that part of Steswick where Danish is exclusively or in preference spoken: then we shall find, that a considerable number of Sleswickers have been active fellow workmen in the Danish literature.

As examples we shall only name a few:

J. D. Herholdt, Professor, (born in Aabenraa). A celebrated author, particularly in physiology. *J. W. Hornemann,* Professor, (born in Ærö). A celebrated botanist. *C. Viborg,* Professor, Director of the Veterinary school, (born in Aabenraa jurisdiction). A celebrated author in botany and Veterinary science. *G. Zoega,* (born in Dahler). A celebrated archæologist.

Also from those districts which lie more to the South than the boundary line here mentioned, there are not a few Danish authors: amongst others, Captain Abrahamson, (born in the town of Sleswick). A renowned Danish poet and excellent popular author, who has written many

distinguished works on Northern literature and antiquities. Manicus, (born in Angeln). Author of writings relating to medicinal, historical and antiquarian subjects.

It deserves to be remarked that those authors who have been named here, from amongst a vast number, have a prominent place in the Danish literature and belong to its best ornaments. Herholdt, Hornemann, C. Viborg and G. Zoega are celebrated names, known far beyond the boundaries of Denmark. Nor must it remain unnoticed that amongst the Danish Sleswickers there are two renowned orators, H. G. Clausen, Dean, (born in Karlum in the jurisdiction of Tönder) and F. C. Gutfeldt, Dean, (born in Haderslev jurisdiction) for eloquence is of a national nature, and it seldom or never happens, that any one obtains a name for eloquence in a foreign tongue.

If we go through the range of those authors from the same districts of Sleswick, who have kept to the German literature and observe the same rules in presenting them to the reader, as we have done with the previous ones, named in Lübkers and Schröders author's-lexicon, we can at most find but two or three names of any great importance, and the most important of these, the Entomologist Fabricius, wrote mostly in latin. The number of those not named here, as being of less importance, both in Danish and German, is much less in the latter than the former, and the contributions which these German-writing Sleswickers have given to German literature cannot in any way be compared to that which the Danish literature owes to the Danish-writing Sleswickers.

In the most popular and national of all the branches of literature, poetry, there is not to be found in that period of time we have named or in any other, — any important name amongst Sleswick's German-writing authors,

whilst amongst the Danish there are found both orators and a popular poet, such as Abrahamson.

From all that has been stated it may certainly be taken for granted that the German's assertion of a sole possession of the intelligence, cultivation and refinement in Sleswick, must suffer a very considerable restriction, and that the Danish language and nationality, although they have done everything to keep them down, yet shoot forth vigorous stems, like certain plants, that thrive and flourish although we tread them under foot.

XIII.

That language which a people uses, is not only living on the lips of the people or preserved in their writings, but it is repeated in personal names and the names of towns, villages, farms, streams and rivulets etc.

The last class are, almost without exception, formed of words, that find an explanation in the language of the country. This remark also applies, for a great part to personal names; yet there are also several to be found which are borrowed from other places, namely from the bible; but even in these, nationality does not hide itself, as the people show a preference for certain groups of names, and reject others.

Now if Sleswick were a German land, as our opponents assert: we should then find German words in the names of towns and places, and the names of persons must likewise agree with the general German names. But the case is quite different. The far greater mass of those personal names which are found in Sleswick are Danish and Scandinavian; a far less part emanate from German families, who have immigrated thither and have taken up their abode in the country; amongst them are a number of the families of the Holstein nobles, which still partly exist as noble names, and have been adopted partly by inferiors and servants of the nobility. All the

older names of villages, farms, and towns are Danish, and only a part of the newer farms, bought or built by the immigrant Holstein families, have got German names. This we shall show more particularly.

It is a peculiarity with Danish and generally Scandivian (as also with English) family names, that they are frequently formed by the addition of *son* or *sen*, annexed to the proper personal name.

This manner of forming names, which is foreign to Germany, appears very frequently in Sleswick names. As instances we may quote the following, at random: Lassen, Knudsen, Nissen, Jepsen, Henriksen, Kallesen, Johansen, Bondesen, Brorsen, Klausen, Feddersen, Nansen, Jensen, Hansen, Jessen, Petersen, Henningsen, Ebsen, Nielsen, Ipsen, Olsen, Paulsen, Christensen, Mikkelsen, Fallesen, Jespersen, Andersen, Sörensen, Jörgensen.

Further: Eriksen, Magnussen, Johnsen, Thygesen, Villadsen, Thöstesen, Adsersen, Lauesen, Iversen, Ketilsen, Thorsen, Nigelsen, Gunnesen, Truelsen.

We may observe how very general and extended over the whole of Denmark the first part of the above quoted names are, and what a stamp of ancient Danish and Scandinavian origin the last have; several of them appear in our ancient manuscripts and must be explained by the old Northern language.

Other current names are these: Bruun, Juel, Uldal, Birkedal, Mörk, Skou, Storm, Lund, Krogh, Hjort, Ravn, Björn, Barfod, Balslöv. These names are also well known to Danish ears, and the very signification of the word proclaims them Danish *).

*) Bruun signifies Brown; Juel sign. Wheel; Uldal sign. Wolfsdale; Birkedal sign. Birchdale; Mörk sign. Dark; Skou sign. Wood; Ravn sign. Raven; Barfod sign. Barefoot; Biörn sign. Bear etc.

Besides the many amongst the customary Danish christian names, such as Knud, Peder, Niels Hans, Ole, Christen, Jens, Jeppe, and the less frequent, but ancient, as Thyge, Thöste, Laue, Adser, Ketil, Gunner, Truels, Iver, Erik, Magnus, which are already amongst the family names we have cited as ending in *sen*, we should add Arent, Boe, Broder, Bonde, Enevold, Trelle, Gyde, Hagen, Ingvar, Mogens, Ove, Thorsten, Tjelle or Tjelluf; and the names of women, as Bodil, Thyre, Gunder, Gye, Voldborg.

We should have much difficulty to find anything German in these names: all is Danish and Northern.

The same remark is repeated when we regard the names of places in Sleswick. We shall go through a part of them after their endings*).

Aa, (rivulet) Lindaa, Bondeaa.

Ager, (field) Broager.

Bæk, (brook) Egebæk, Holbæk, Vedbæk, Torbæk, Leerbæk, Æsbæk.

Bro, (bridge) Stokkebro.

By, (town) Borreby, Gunnelsby, Kjærby, Ketelsby, Svensby, Drengesby, Gammelby, Brodersby, Viby, Adelby, Truelsby etc. etc.

Böl, bölle, balle, (dwelling place) Thorsbölle, Skov-

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*) The most of these endings are intelligible of themselves; an explanation of a few only is necessary: the ending *ild* is supposed to signify *hill*, and is of Northern origin, *um* or *om* is the old dative in plural, which was used to indicate a place; *rup, drup, trup*, comes from the word *Torp*, and signifies a town, which is built out of and erected from the chief town, Adelbyen; *ry, ryde, röd* indicates that the place is erected by the rooting out of woods; the frequent ending *lev* or *löv* comes from the Icelandic *leifd* (effects of a person deceased) or in plural *leifar* (ancient remains) — and then it signifies landed property. The ending *vid* or *ved* signifies forest, wood.

bölle, Oxbölle, Nybölle, Adserballe, Thorsballe, Langballe.

Borg, (borough) Svenborg.

Drup, trup, rup, (village) Sverdrup, Estrup, Hastrup, Hostrup, Lovtrup, Vilstrup, Satrup, Kolstrup, Fjelstrup, Ulstrup, Tostrup, Kollerup, Frörup.

Gaard, (manor) Vraagaard, Heegaard, Havgaard, Ögaard, Lundsgaard, Drengesgaard.

Have, (garden) Kallehave.

Hoved, (head) Graahoved, Egehoved.

Höi, (hill) Snoghöi, Storhöi.

Holm, (holm) Kyholm, Hestholm, Vipholm, Brunsholm.

Ild, (hill) Arrild, Abbild, Vonsild.

Kjær, (moor) Eskjær, Ellekjær, Holmkjær, Koldkjær.

Kilde, (well) Thorskilde, Hvidkilde.

Lev or löv, (field) Bollerslev, Thinglev, Fröslev, Seierslev, Tolveslev, Harrislev.

Lund, (grove) Ellund, Joldelund, Fruerlund, Gammellund, Bögelund, Iverslund, Skadelund, Gyldenlund.

Lökke, (enclosure) Emmerlökke, Hestelökke, Faarelökke, Gammellökke.

Mark, (field) Eskilsmark.

Nakke, (neck) Birkenakke.

Næs, (promontory, ness) Grimsnæs, Bögenæs, Egenæs, Espenæs, Ulpenæs.

Riis, (bosket) Eskriis.

Ry, ryde, röd, (plain) Bregnry, Binnery, Guderöd, Bögeröd.

Skov, (wood) Thingskov, Juulskov, Bögeskov, Aaskov.

Sted, (stead) Rungsted, Sigersted, Thorsted, Drengsted.

Sö, (sea) Oversö, Træsö.

Thing, (thing) Gelthing.

Toft, (a small field) Havetoft, Gjentoft, Terkilstoft, Birrestoft, Faaretoft, Hestetoft, Koltoft, Valdemarstoft, Lyngtoft, Runetoft.

Vad, (ford) Bredvad, Bögvad, Dybvad.

Vang, (a small field) Gaardvang, Sövang.

Vid or ved, (wood) Handeved, Sundevid, Lindevid.

Vraa, (nook) Söllingvraa, Foldevraa, Aabenraa.

Um or om, Stubbum, Lygum, Börlum, Karlum, Klintum.

Ö, (isle) Væverö.

These names sound familiar and homely to every Dane; they appear in all districts of Denmark, several of them also in Norway and Sweden. A great number have also become far extended family names. They are taken from different parts of Sleswick, but principally from the Southern part where Germanism has more or less forced its way in. Many occur however two or three times, both in South Angel and Svansö and likewise in the most Northern parts of the Duchy.

In the jurisdiction of Husum and the Southern districts of the jurisdiction of Gottorp and Flensborg, the following are found amongst several more: Joldelund, Skovbölle, Vandrup, Tornskov, Sigersted, Stendrup, Gammellund, Söllerup, Huusby, Bregnry, Hunding, Esberstoft, Kraglund, Thorsbæk, etc. etc.

In Angel there also appears the following amongst others: Osbæk, Thorbæk, Thorsted, Thorsballe, Thorskilde, Svensby, Gunnelsby, Ketilsby, Borreby, Brodersby, Truelsby, Bondeaa, Kollerup, Sattrup, Ulstrup, Tostrup, Arrild, Eskjær, Ellekjær, Egehoved, Storhöi, Iverslund, Bögelund, Kyholm, Hestholm, Faarelökke, Gammellökke, Grimsnæs, Eskriis, Birkenakke, Vinnery, Bögeröd, Gjentofte, Runetoft, Terkilstoft, Hestetoft, Thingskov, Gaardvang, Lindevid, Væverö etc.

What a mass of Danish names there appears in Svansö, has been already stated, (P. 77).

A great number of these names have, it is true, been turned and distorted by German writers, bailiffs and estate owners. Thus Snoghöi is made to Schnaghöi, Eskriis to Esgrus, Koldkjær to Kaltenkirchen, Kirkeby to Karby, Eskilsmark to Eschelsmark, Urmark to Ohrfeld Rönhave to Rönhof, Bregning to Brekling, Ryekloster to Ruhekloster, Ulvekrat to Ulegraf, Nisvraa to Niesgrau, Smaaböl to Schmöl, Thorskilde to Tordschil, Skovlund to Schaaflund, Lyngsted to Lövenstedt, Tolveslev to Tollschlag, Runetoft to Rundhof, Grumtoft to Grundhof or Grünhof.

Here it must however be remarked that this distortion of names is retained only by German writers and men in office; the common man, even in the Southern districts generally pronounces the names correctly. The common man says Harslöv, and not Hadersleben; Ovvenraa, and not Apenrade, Lyksborg, and not Glücksborg; Graasteen and not Gravensteen; Runtout (Runtoft in South Angeln), and not Rundhof; Grumtout, (Grumtoft in North Angeln), and not Grundhof or Grünhof.

That German writers have thus been able to bungle and spoil Danish names, one cannot however be so much astonished at, when one reads in German works such learned explanations of Danish words, as appear in the agricultural affairs of Sleswick, stated thus: *"Bonde must be derived from "einem gebundenen Manne"* *); — whereas the meaning of the Danish word Bonde is one who possesses landed property, originally by purchase or gift from the lord of the soil.

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*) A bounden man or bondman.

Landgilde, is derived from "einen ländlichen Feste" *), whereas it signifies the yearly rent which a Fæstebonde or farmer pays to the owner of the estate; Ornum (an old Danish word signifying ground that is taken out, from a community of landed property, for a single person's possession) — *explained by "heiligen Hainen von Ornusbäumen anpflanzt"* **)! the German's explanation of this word becomes doubly ridiculous, when it is remembered that Manna-ash (Ornusbäumen) — does not appear in the North of Europe, — the most Northern part where it appears is in Tyrol and Karnthen!

They do not however fare much better with their own language which they fill with a number of Danish expressions, borrowed in particular from the language of the courts of law and agricultural affairs which have a very strange appearance in German.

*) A rural feast.

**) A consecrated grove planted with Manna-ash (Ornusbäumen).

XIV.

Denmark is rich in old traditions, which go as far as the Danish tongue is heard. The *Saga* or tradition is like a new language, through which the people's mind reveals itself to us. When we say that the spiritual peculiarities of a people appear in their history, laws, manners and customs: then it is assuredly true; but the thing is to separate the accidental and foreign parts of these elements in order to come to a right view of what is the general part and that which in fact expresses the popular peculiarities. In the popular traditions the people have themselves done this work for us already. The spiritual form and character of the people meets us here of itself, and it seems as if we could seize it, as it shines through, every where, scarcely veiled by the covering of words. Tradition comprises every thing that sets a peoples thoughts, feelings, and power of imagination in movement; the memorials of history and hopes of the future, the passions of the soul and the manifold combats and endeavours of mankind, nature as it shows itself to the eye and its mysterious effects in the interior of the earth, the life that moves in the hidden depths of the sea and the gloominess of the forests: everything becomes a subject for this popular composition, which shoots forth just as involuntarily from the minds of the people as the

flowers from the bosom of the earth. The deeds of the old heroes and of departed days draw tradition within its circle, and unconcerned about the words of history, the people transform them according to their own image, fashion them so as they must be, that they may acknowledge them as theirs.

If then Sleswick really be a Danish land, and its Danish-speaking inhabitants of Danish root and extraction just as well as those of North Jutland and Funen: then it will not disown itself in the domains of tradition; a communion of mind gives a common world of tradition. Though this place does not admit of a detailed treatment of this rich theme, yet we shall adduce so much, as to make it clear that it is Danish ground we tread on, when we move amongst the traditions which live in the memorials and conversation of the Danish population in Sleswick, that they are the remembrances of antiquity, Danish feelings, representations and images of the mind which we meet with here.

There is an old tradition existing both in North and South Jutland, respecting the changes that the Jutlandish peninsula has suffered in remote times. It is said on the island of Sylt, and in the country around Nissum-firth in North Jutland and in the interior of South Jutland, for instance, in the parish of Agerskov, that a Queen of England has caused this damage, through vindictiveness. She was betrothed with a King of Denmark, but he would not keep the promise of marriage that he had given to her. In order to be revenged she commanded the neck of land, that united England and France to be cut through, this work lasted seven years, but when completed the sea burst violently in and washed away a great part of the peninsula of Jutland. Geologists, by an examination

of the physical condition of the localities, find it confirmed, that one of the oldest and greatest inundations, which has destroyed Jutland, was caused by a breaking through of the sea, whereby the channel between England and France was formed.

The traditions about the old Gods are near to be extinguished in the Northern lands; it is only here and there, in solitary and remote districts that a single tone is now and then heard from the most distant times of antiquity. The most durable are those memorials that attach themselves to the names of places, as they bear witness that the Gods have been cultivated here, or that events have happened which the people have placed in connection with the history of the Gods. Of such names not a few are to be found in South Jutland. In the parish of Bjert in Tyrstrup Herred (jurisdiction) there is a large place, near the village of Binderup, two hundred and sixty feet in circumference, surrounded by enormous blocks of granite, the peasants show this place and still call it *Thor's* Have (Thors garden) (Icelandic, hof, the house of the Gods). In the South of Sleswick the name of this God is likewise frequently to be met with; thus we find in Angeln Thorsbæk *(Thor's brook)*, Thorskilde *(Thor's well)*, Thorsted *(Thor's place)* and several others, as well as the names of persons, Thor and Thorsen, which are very frequent. *Odin's* name lies in Vonsild, *i e* Odinsild or Odinshöi *(Odin's hill)*, in Vonsbæk, *i e* Odins Bæk (Odins Beck). *Freis* name is refound in Fröslev, Frörup. Tyrstrup and Tiislund or Tirslund bear witness of the God *Tyr*. *Balders* name appears not only in Bollerslev and Biolderup but the tradition still exists of his being slain by the God Höder or Hader, whose name is found again in the neighbouring town of Haderslev. The

game of Balder Rune, which also reminds us of this God, is still practised by children in several places of South Jutland, namely in the neighbourhood of Flensborg and in the jurisdiction of Haderslev. This may surely be sufficient to show that Sleswick also has had lot and part in the old mythology of the North *).

The hero of Northern tradition, *Stærkodder,* is not forgotten in Sleswick where they point out the places which he frequented, and it is still less the case with *Holger Danske* (Olger the Dane). Some few years ago, when a Sleswick-Holsteiner in the provincial parliament, conjured the Emperor Frederick Red-beard's shadow from the grave, as a terror to all Danes, a Sleswick peasant, Nis Lorenzen from Lilholdt, was not behind hand in presenting him Holger Danske to meet him in the field. Holger Danske is one of the heroes of past times with whom the common people of Denmark are best acquainted and on whose deeds they love best to dwell. He sits in his burial vault, prepared to step forth as the saviour of Denmark in the time of need.

The North Jutlanders relate that the Turk — with this name they signify the dangerous enemy — shall once in time come so far that he can water his horses in Viborg lake; but then Holger Danske will step forth and put him to flight. But the South Jutlanders do not allow the Turk to come further than to Kongeaaen (the King's rivulet), which forms the boundary between South and North-Jutland. When he has reached it, Holger Danske steps forth from his sepulchral chamber in the hill near Mögeltönder and saves Denmark, as he expels the enemy

*) Odin (Wodan), Thor, Frey, Balder, Tyr are the most celebrated Gods in the Scandinavian mythology.

with an army of boys of twelve years; for there are no others remaining after the previous sanguinary battle.

Traditions of entirely the same stamp as are found everywhere in Denmark, are attached to the many tumuli or barrows that are found round about in Sleswick. The commonalty in general also know the names of the buried heroes, and they are always the same as those who have gained fame in the ancient traditions of Denmark. A number of barrows are to be seen in the fields around the villages of Havetoft, Loit and Thorsballe in Angeln. It is said that a great battle took place here in the olden times. The inhabitants of those parts say, that King Frode rests in the largest of these hills, and strengthen their statement by citing some verses which are common in that place. According to the tradition, two heroes named Grim and Vogn lie buried in a hill near Kirkeby (jurisdiction of Haderslev). The Sleswick tradition says of King Dan, that he had his residence in the city of Sleswick, and commanded that his body should be buried in a hill near Kurberg, and surrounded by immense granite blocks. King Hiarnes hill is shown near Kliplev (jurisdiction of Tönder); others assert that the right place is Hiarneby near Flensborg. In the parish of Qværn in Angeln they say that a hero lies buried with his horse, armour and a valuable sword in Ravnshöi (Raven's hill). It is said that an old King, Sigurd Falle, lies buried in a tumulus, which they call Kongsie-Höi (the King's hill) in the village of Selk near the Slie.

The beautiful tradition about Hagbart and Signe still exists on Als, although according to the usual varying of time in the popular tradition, it is placed to the age of chivalry. In Sundevid they give an account of a pious knight who once lived in Broager and who had made a

vow to wander as a pilgrim to the holy sepulchre. On his departure he begged his wife, who was pregnant, that if she gave birth to a son, that she would then have a steeple built to the church in Broager; but if she gave birth to a daughter, she should then let the church remain without, as it was. When after completing his pilgrimage, he returned and approached his home he saw two steeples rise above Broager church: his wife had born him two sons. This is the tradition about Adser Ryg of Fjenneslövlille and his two sons, Absalon and Esbern Snare, celebrated in the history of Denmark and which tradition has wandered from Sealand over to Sundevid.

Not only the old ballad beginning with the words: "i Lunde Kirke yppes en Stevne", ("in Lunde church a meeting took place") announced the sanguinary contest that took place in Tiislunde church, where Tule Vognsen slew Svend Graa, who had insulted his mother, but the tradition exists in the place itself. The scene for the song about Mr. Tönne or "the power of the runes", is the island of Als.

Queen Margaret, who the common people, on account of the dark colour of her face, called Black Peggy, or the Horse burster, because she rode so swiftly, is known in history as a woman of a masculine and strong willed character, who governed the kingdom in difficult times with much wisdom and prudence. Tradition does not however speak much about her in the rest of Denmark, but so much the more in Sleswick which was the chief theatre for her operations *).

*) She lived in the 13th century and must not be confounded with the other celebrated Queen Margaret, who lived in the 14th century and in the end of that century brought about the union between the three Scandinavian kingdoms.

Here she herself took the field in order to maintain the rights of her son Erik Glipping, a boy of twelve years, against the Counts of Holstein; here she made herself famous by fortifying Dannevirke anew, as it had become ruinous, and which the commonalty in that part still frequently call, after her, Margaret's wall. —

Queen Margaret was never the people's favorite, any more than King Valdemar Atterdag, great as his merits were. Her dark, serious aspect, which was increased by the black dress she wore as a widow, the severity she showed, the hard works she imposed on them, and her unwomanly manners, as they thought, did not please the common people. They accuse her of having had the assistance of evil spirits in completing the fortification of Dannevirke; they therefore often see her at night in her black dress, sitting on a snow-white steed and darting restlessly away over Dannevirke between Hedeby and Hollingsted. If any one has laid out plantations or erected buildings on the rampart, she then destroys them; for she does not like that people build or dig in the rampart which she has erected for the defence of the kingdom. They show a hill on Kropheden, between Dannevirke and the Éider, which is called Dronningehöien (the Queen's hill), wherein a hostile prince, whom she slew in single combat, is said to be buried. Even down in Holstein and Northern Germany, they show fortifications that she is said to have erected when she besieged hostile towns. She appears often at night to the fishermen by the Slie, and procures them a good draught of fishes, when they obey her commands, but if they trespass against them, it then becomes their ruin. She conquered her enemies just as much by stratagem as by bravery; when she rode about in the country, she often had her horse's

shoes placed the wrong way on the hoofs, so that no one knew where she was. She also possessed the gift of prophecy, and has left many prophecies about Denmark's future state.

It was not only Gurre castle, between Elsinore and Fredensborg, which King Valdemar Atterdag loved so highly, that he would willingly resign the joys of heaven if he might only be allowed to hunt in the forest around Gurre. The Sleswick tradition attributes to him the same affection for the country around Bau near Flensborg. Here he one day, during the pleasures of the chase, let fall the same presumptuous words; but as a punishment he must now hunt there till doomsday. The noise of his wild hunting tumult even forces its way down to the moat by Flensborg, when he at night, with his retinue of huntsmen and dogs, darts through the air. This the commonalty call "Kong Volmers Jagt" (King Valdemars chase).

Nor is tradition quite silent about the battles of the Danish Kings with the later Dukes of Sleswick. It is related, that a Danish King, whose name it not given, was surprised in Bollerslev by the people of the Duke and had nearly been taken prisoner. But a faithful Sleswicker saved the King, by stratagem, from the suspending danger, and as a reward he got an exemption from taxes for the property he owned in Bollerslev. The farm is called Friplov (*i. e* free plough) and still preserves its old exemption from taxation.

The whole world of supernatural beings, with which the common people of Denmark like so much to occupy their imagination with, belongs just as much to Sleswick as any other place in Denmark. The Elves (Ellepigerne) perform their light dances in the meadows or the open

places in the woods by moonlight; the mermaids raise their beautiful bodies above the surface of the sea and seek, by alluring songs, to draw the unwary, who confide themselves to them, down into the deep; the dwarfs or the subterranean people, as they are called, wander about under ground and hold their banquets, their birth day feasts and marriages like human beings on the earth; the *Nisse* or brownie springs about with his little red cap on, in the stable, kitchen and cellar, and performs all sorts of little mischievous tricks. In all this there is no difference, whether one be to the West or the East of the little Belt, to the South or the North of Kongeaaen.

Near the village of Haverslund, not far from Aabenraa, there is a hill where the Elves often use to wander. A farmers man had laid down to sleep there, but was awakened in the middle of the night by the most delightful music sounding in his ears. He now distinctly saw before him two girls who danced lightly about, and put several questions to him. But he remained silent, for he knew that it was dangerous to enter into conversation with such beings. He then heard them sing:

"Aa hör, do Ungersven! aa vil do int'
Mæ ös i Auten tael',
Saa skal inden Kok gael' di' sölslavn Kniv
Ret lig dint Hiaert' i Dvael."

The meaning is to the following effect.

"Oh hear thou young swain! oh, wilt thou not
With us this night have aught to say;
Then ere the cock crow, the silver mounted knife
Thy heart shall hide in rest from the day."

When he heard this, he became terrified and was about to speak, but just at that moment the cock crowed, and the elf girls disappeared.

Also in Angeln and several other places, they often hear similar beautiful music sound from the hills.

The belief in mountain-folks or dwarfs or subterranean people, as they are called, is extended over the whole of Sleswick. It is found not less in Angeln and Sundevid than in North and West Sleswick, and what is more remarkable, they have preserved the old name *Finn*, with which such demons or sprites were designated in the antiquity of the North. They are still skilful smiths, as is the olden time, and the traveller can often hear them at work with hammer and file within the hill. Sometimes the hill rises and stands on glowing pillars so that one can see rightly, what they are occupied with therein. They have much familiar intercourse with human beings, borrow their work-tools and furniture, which they return punctually when they have used them, are often self invited guests at festivals and marriages and take a secret part in the meal. This does not happen now so often as before, as the King of Denmark is said to have ordered their places of exit to be closed and placed sentinels before them, so that they can only escape with difficulty.

In Sleswick they also call the Nisser or brownies, little boys or Nisse-boys, because they look like little boys. In other respects they also say the same about them there, as everywhere else in Denmark. They are active beings, always in motion both day and night; when they are well treated and get their dish of groats in right time, they are very useful, help the servants with all sorts of household jobs and bring luck to the house they stay in; but if any harm be done to them, they then do not neglect to revenge themselves effectually.

The belief in the Were-wolf or wolf-man prevails also in Sleswick, and there are many tales about the de-

testable Helhest*), which is so much feared by the Danish commonalty. Proverbial Danisms are also attached to this belief. Thus they say of one who has escaped from a dangerous illness: *"Han har givet Döden en Skjæppe Havre"* or *"han har afkjöbt sig med Hel", (han har kjöbt sig af med æ Hel.) i. e.* He has given death a peck of oats, or he has bought himself off with Hel. To one who performs an errand slowly, they say: *"Du er god at skikke efter æ Hel."* (You are good to send after Hel.) The word is, as is well known, an old Scandinavian one.

That the dwarfs exchange the children of christians and place an oaf in their stead, likewise belongs to the common belief in Sleswick, and they apply the same means of precaution against the exchange as everywhere else in Denmark. Nor are tales wanting about hidden treasures, dragons and griffins, that brood over them. Amongst others a great treasure is said to be buried in the ruins of the old castle of Duborg near Flensborg, where there is also a serpent with a crown on its head.

There were giants (Jætter) as well as dwarfs (Dværger) in the country formerly. As proofs of this are the immensely large stones which are often found not far from the churches. These stones the heathen giants would have slung against the churches, but they have mistaken their aim so that the stones have fallen down at some distance from them. Such stones are seen, for instance, near Arrild, Spandet, and Middelby churches. A giant would once throw such a stone from Sundevid over Flensborg firth and far into Angeln against the church in Qværn, but it came no further than to Hatlund where it still lies.

*) The fabled three legged horse; from Hel the goddess of death in the Northern Mythology.

Near Dollerup in Angeln there lies a large stone, which a giant has thrown over from Funen; it is called the Funen stone to this day. Near Dyppelbjerg in Sundevid there is a stone which, although they have taken much of it away by blasting, is still one hundred feet in circumference. It lay before on Als; but a giantess slung it over the sound (Alssund) after a giant, who had insulted her.

There are numerous traditions united with churches, towers, steeples, bells, baptismal fonts and other sacred objects, which explain the cause of the church having been built, the reason why it lies on that place, and not in any other, which seems far more convenient, or relate about the punishment that has fallen on them, who have sinned against what is sacred. They are repeated with almost stereotypical invariableness everywhere in Denmark. The most prominent feature in these traditions is the peculiar pleasure which the popular belief has found in letting what is sacred be accomplished just by profane powers, who have lent their assistance in the hope of destroying christian souls, but disappointed in their wicked calculations have been obliged to work without reward. To cite an instance, it is related of Egvad's church that the builder had undertaken to have it finished at a certain time, but saw himself unable to keep his word. Troubled in his mind he went about and pondered over what he should do. Then there came a little being, a dwarf, up to him and offered to complete the church within the given time; but then the builder should find out his name, or else belong to him with life and soul. The builder laughed at the little fellow, who he thought could not execute the great thing he promised, and without thinking further about it he entered into the proposal. He thought

that he could in all cases get to know the little fellow's name of his assistants. But the little being employed no assistants and the work went on so quickly that the church was nearly finished. The builder was now in despair and in his fear went out into the fields; as he walked about here he suddenly heard a singing voice which sounded from within a hill:

"Vys! vær still Baen mint,
Maaen kommer Faer Zi (pronounced Zee.)
Mæ christen Bloi te dæ."

"Tush! be still my child,
To morrow comes father Zi
With christian blood to thee."

The builder was now saved and became glad. Next morning, just as the wizard was about to set the last stone in its place, he went up to him and said:

"Go Maaen Zi! Go Maaen Zi!
Sætter do no den siste Steen i!"

Good morrow Zi! Good morrow Zi!
You now put the last stone in I see!"

On hearing himself addressed by his name the wizard became furious, flung the stone far away and ran his way. They have never since succeeded in walling up the little hole that remained, however often they have attempted it; the stone continually falls out.

Munkebrarup church in Angeln was built in a similar manner. Here the wizards name was Sipp.

We may further name the belief in Cyprianus's celebrated books and the, so called, black arts, the power of the clergy to abolish witchcraft, to show spirits, to exorcise the devil and evil spirits, which is so diffused and rooted into the Danish commonalty and generally in the North, whilst it is foreign to Germany.

We have pointed out a part of the more prominent features in the popular belief of the Sleswick people and found, that the traditions both in contents and form agree with those which exist amongst the rest of the Danish commonalty. This common agreement in the traditions is not less demonstrative of the nationality of the population than the community of language: for both are direct expressions of the popular mind. What we have here stated we can, if necessary, strengthen by the evidence of a German author. Mr. Müllenhoff, who possesses a celebrated name in traditional literature, states, in a work he has lately published, (Sagen Märchen und Linder aus Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg, — Kiel 1845.) — after having mentioned different peculiar Danish traditions, that are met with in Sleswick, — p. VI that these traditions prove just as definitively as the language, *that the German nationality has here found its boundary.*

XV.

Proverbs, adages and figurative phrases are of no mean signification as expressions of a people's peculiarity. They have once been pronounced, have been received and diffused themselves amongst the whole nation. They pass as sentences between man and man, which, short and pithy, found an opinion, express a view of the condition of life or an observation of mans nature, and no one ever thinks of impugning their authority. But they only acquire such authority because they are an expression of the people's views, meanings and convictions; and just as their contents express the national peculiarity, so is their form also determined by the same. In order to illumine Sleswick's nationality from this side also, we shall here quote some few proverbs and sayings, which are general amongst the Sleswick commonalty. Most of them are used everywhere in Denmark, and the few that are peculiar to Sleswick, every Dane will directly acknowledge as Danish in form and spirit.

En Tosse kan spörge mere end ti Vise kan besvare.
One fool can ask more than ten wise men can answer.

Som man raaber i Skoven, faaer man Svar.
As we shout in the wood, so we get an answer.

Det er for sildig at spare, naar man er kommen til Bunden.

It is too late to spare, when we have come to the bottom.

Rigmands Datter og Fattigmands Stud bliver ikke gammel i Gaard.

The rich man's danghter and the poor man's ox do not get old in the farm.

Naar man slaaer iblandt en Flok Hunde, da piber den man rammer.

When we strike amongst a pack of dogs then the one that we hit howls.

Det gaaer lystigt, sagde Tordenskjold, da Kuglerne peb ham om Örene.

It goes merrily, said Tordenskjold, when the balls whistled about his ears. (Tordenskjold is a renowned naval hero).

Som man reder, saa ligger man.

As we make our bed so we must lie.

Den der giver, til han tigger, skal slaaes til han ligger.

He that gives til he begs, shall be beaten till he falls.

Rom er ikke bygget paa een Dag.

Rome was not built in one day.

Nye Koste feie bedst.

New brooms sweep best.

Een Svale gjör ingen Sommer.

One swallow makes no summer.

Det er kun en overgang, sagde Ræven, da man trak Bælgen af ham.

It is only a change, said the fox, when they pulled his skin off him.

De ere sure, sagde Ræven, da han ikke kunde naae Rönnebærrene.

They are sour, said the fox, when he could not reach the roan-berries.

The following proverb which is used in Angeln has the same signification:

Jeg har ingen Tid, sagde Trolden, jeg skal til Vakkerballe.

I have no time, said the wizard, I must go to Vakkerballe.

Det er ikke godt at gabe imod Ovnens Mund.

It is not good to gape against the oven's mouth.

(The meaning is, that it is not good to quarrel with the powerful).

Den Fugl, der synger for tidlig om Morgenen, tager Högen inden Aften.

That bird which sings too early in the morning, the hawk takes before evening.

Det er ikke alt Guld, der glimmer.

It is not all gold, that glitters.

Hvad kommer det Svinet ved, hvad Flæsket koster.

What is it to the swine, what the pork costs.

Hvo der ikke roser sine Varer, sælger ikke dyrt.

He who does not praise his wares, does not sell dear.

Han kjörer ud, men gaaer hjem, ligesom Svinene.

He drives out, but walks home, like the swine.

(This proverb is derived from the custom of driving the little pigs out in waggons to the forest to be fed with mast, and then driving them home on foot after they had become fat swine).

Hvo Intet vover, han Intet vinder.

He who nothing ventures, he nothing wins.

Det er en daarlig Kone, der laster sin egen Kaal.
She is a bad wife, who blames her own cabbage.

Naar Krybben er tom, slaaes Hestene.
When the crib is empty, the horses strike.

Naar Musen er mæt, er Melet beesk.
When the mouse is sated, the meal is bitter.

Næste Aar kommer atter en Juleaften.
Next year there comes again a Christmas-eve.

Tyv troer hver Mand stjæler.
The thief thinks every man steals.

Den kommer tidsnok, som bliver hængt ved Lys.
He comes time enough, who is to be hanged by candle light.

Dagen er en Herre til at sye Pölse ved.
The day is a master to make sausages by.

Jeg tvivlede nok, sagde Peer Tækker, da han fik nei i Helvede *).
I had my doubts, said Peter Thatcher, when he was refused in Hell.

I Mjöls, der spiser man Bröd til Pöls.
In Mjöls, there they eat bread to sausage.

(They are fond of fat dishes in Sleswick, but Mjöls lies in a poor district where they must live frugally, which is expressed in this manner).

*) Helvede, (Hell) — is a road-side inn, where Peter courted the girl and was refused.

XVI.

The faithful adherence to what is old in customs, memorials, language, proverbs, sayings etc., which, notwithstanding the many changes that have taken place, shows itself so clearly in the Sleswicker, also betrays itself in the preservation of various old Danish institutions, which have maintained themselves here, at least by name, whilst they have disappeared in the rest of Denmark, or only appear quite exceptionally. In Sleswick they have still *Sandemænd* and *Sandemændstog, Ransnævninger* and *Allemandsthing.* (Names of various ancient institutions for the administration of law). In North Angeln the assizes were still held, in 1725, in the open air, on the grounds of the former Ry-cloister. Even the old Danish mode of valuing the soil after mark gold and mark silver is still retained in certain districts of Sleswick, though the names now do not naturally denote the same value as in the olden times. On the whole these things stand more as shadows and memorials of past times, than having any signification in the present. When the judicial proceedings became German, the Danish jurymen and crown jurors must naturally have become an insignificant form.

But there are other sides of life and manners of living in Sleswick where ancient things have maintained themselves in full strength up to our days, as they also

agree with what is the custom everywhere in Denmark. To these we will first reckon the style of building. Over the whole of Danish Sleswick it is perfectly Danish in its character, and substantially different from the German or Saxon style of building, which begins to the South of the Slie and Dannevirke.

The peculiarity of the Danish style of building consists, as it is well known, in this, that the farm buildings are formed by four rows of buildings, which are built together in a square and enclose the farm yard. That the dwelling is strictly separated from the other parts of the building, which are used as stables, barn, granary etc. etc.; and that it has chimneys, and that its whole length forms the front or façade. The dwelling house extends in a direction from East to West and has the garden behind it. The two ranges of buildings extend up to the ends of the dwelling house, opposite to which is the fourth range, applied to different uses such as waggon-sheds etc. etc., and here also the entrance into the yard is found; the side buildings form the stables, barn etc. Sometimes there are two entrances, one by end of the barn and another by the end of the stable. In the middle of the yard is the dunghill which is kept very neat in Sleswick, so that they can bleach yarn on it. Some few deviations from this rule may appear, such as that of the four ranges of building not being joined directly together, for the sake of danger from fire, but yet they form a square. The cattle and horses stand in the stable in stalls with their heads turned towards the outer walls.

The entrance to the dwelling house is through the lobby into the kitchen, from which a door leads into the parlour or daily room, which is generally towards the

South; by the side of this is the large room, and behind this some smaller chambers, such as a guest's room, and sometimes the bridal chamber with the bridal-bed. By the side of the kitchen is the brewhouse and baking oven, and to this is attached the turf house. Yet it is often the case that there is a separate outhouse for the baking oven and brewery. The chambers have their peculiar South Jutland names. The parlour or daily room is called *Dörns,* the large room *Pesel* and the chamber that is used as a guest's room or as a lumber room, is called Klöve. Icelandic *klefi*).

The German or Saxon style of building which is used towards the North as far as the Slie, Dannevirke and Husum is entirely different from the Danish. The peculiar character of this style of building is, that it does not form a square, but one long building, which encloses men as well as cattle; it does not present the long side, but the gable end as a façade out towards the road or street; there is also an entrance in the gable end to drive in at, but no throughfare; there is no chimney, but only a hearth, from which the smoke finds its way along the ceiling and out through the gateway. When we come through this gateway, we see the cattle and horses standing in the stables on both sides, with their heads turned out towards the person entering, the floor between the cows and horses stables serves as a barn floor where they thrash the corn; further on we see on each side smaller divisions, such as the dairy, the pantry, the servant-girls' rooms etc. etc., and before us is the hearth. Behind this and directly opposite the gateway we see the entrance to the rooms of the dwelling house, the parlour and bedrooms. Both these different styles of building stand in close connection with the different manners of living of

the inhabitants. For the Danish population agriculture is the chief thing, and the breeding of cattle a subordinate matter; for the German population on the contrary, the breeding of cattle is the main source of their subsistence, together with the preparation of cheese and butter, smoked meats etc. Travellers have remarked that the German population have darker coloured countenances than the Danish, and explain this circumstance by the continual smoke in which they live; for when the weather is not still the whole house is filled with a smoke that is insupportable to those who are not accustomed to it. Otherwise it ascends and passes along the ceiling, smoking the quantity of sausages, hams and beef that is hung up there. The smoke also penetrates through the crevices and openings in the ceiling, into the corn and fodder that is laid up there and smokes it through. But the cattle are so accustomed to this smoked fodder that, when they come into Danish districts, they will not at first eat the fodder that is not smoked.

The style of building in Angeln departs from the general Danish style in so much that it has not the square form; but otherwise it has everything in common with it. It has chimneys and not the characteristic Saxon hearth, and the rooms in the dwelling house are separated from the stables and barn; the side range and not the gable end forms the façade towards the road. A thoroughfare passes right through the building dividing it according to the breadth in two principal divisions; on the one side they have dwelling house and all belonging to it, on the other side the stables and barn. From the thoroughfare there is an entrance leading into the kitchen, which by a door stands in connection with the daily room that lies towards the South; behind this is the large room and at

the side the guest's and bridal chamber. As the disposition of the rooms is the same as in South Jutland, so are also the names of them, namely Dörns, Pesel and Klöve. On the other side of the thoroughfare there are stables on each side for the horses and cattle, and the floor between is used as a barn floor.

In Germanized Svansö, on the contrary, the Danish style of building has in a great measure given way to the Saxon.

It is self evident, that deviations from the style here noticed can appear in different places in particular details; wealth and poverty, fancy and accident, can do much. But the fundamental type we have here mentioned appears again in all places.

In many other traits also of the manner of living, the fraternal resemblance between the South and North Jutlander and on the whole with the entire Danish commonalty does not disown itself. At marriage feasts (as also at funerals) the wealthier peasants invite an immense number of guests, at times amounting to several hundreds. The festivities last three days; but on the third day the nearest relations only remain. Every waggon or carriage with new guests is received with drums and trumpets, or flutes and violins. The procession to the church is opened by a number of horsemen, and sometimes with music before them. After returning from the church the dinner begins, which lasts several hours, and in which rice, boiled in milk and sweetened, (called Risengrød) — never fails to be one of the chief dishes. The great expenses which the feast occasions, are compensated by the bridal presents of the guests, which consist of silver articles, furniture, provisions, &c. &c. Every one who has been present at a peasants wedding in North Jutland

or Sealand will recognise these traits. The strict ordinance respecting the precedence of rank between *Gaardmænd* and *Huusmænd,* (farmers who cultivate their own land, and cottagers who own a house and a slip of land), which is so rooted in the Danish peasantry, and which expresses itself as well in other relations, as therein, that the farmer will seldom or ever give his daughter in marriage to a cottagers son, is also found in Sleswick.

Even in eatables and dishes, one can observe a remarkable difference between the Danish and German population. When the Danish Sleswicker makes a feast the first dish that comes on the table is yellow pease boiled thick with a lump of butter in the middle of the dish; the next dish is beef or hen soup, with the meat in the soup, to which is generally added boiled plums; the third dish is the favored boiled rice with butter. It is more seldom that white cabbage comes instead of the soup, and still more seldom stockfish.

The german population have other dishes; but they are not so fixed as amongst the Danish, nor yet are they alike in all parts of the country. They have generally several dishes, amongst which there is usually meat soup or broth, and thick rice is not wanting. The two other dishes are of meat, but different in the different districts. In some places a roast goose stuffed with apples and plums, in other places flour dumplings with bacon and fat sauce (the German dumplings).

The daily food of the inhabitants of Angeln in the morning and evening is Vælling, (barley grits boiled in milk), or thick milk porridge with bread and butter or sandwiches; and that of the North Sleswickers is the same. Mead is a favorite drink, at least in North Sleswick.

The national dresses yield more and more in our days to the influence of all-levelling culture, particularly in a land with a pretty close population, many towns and a lively intercourse. The dresses of the town's inhabitants, which again change after the fashion, are continually extended in the country. From this we can therefore draw no conclusions. Yet the glaring colours, scarlet and light green, which the women of Angeln used not long ago for their clothes, the caps inlaid with gold, the head dress with the fine lace and the many double-folded, silk neckerchiefs, reminds one strongly of the Danish commonalty's fondness for various colours and a rich head dress, which has still maintained itself in several districts. There is however one part of the dress that has resisted the influence of fashion, and which at the same time characteristically separates the Danish population from the German. It is the covering for the feet. The German population use boots and shoes of leather, exclusively. But as soon as we come over the Slie and Dannevirke, wooden shoes are usually worn. Both servant men and women in Angeln go with wooden shoes, and this is the case further Northward. The women's wooden shoes differ from the men's in this, that they are neater made and prettily ornamented with a brass band. This covering for the foot, which keeps them warm and dry, has resisted the change of fashion by its appropriateness in a damp climate with a clayey soil. In the manner also in which rural occupations are performed there is a difference between the Danish and German population. One need only to go into a barn and look at the men thrashing in order to discover directly, which is Danish and which German. The Dane swings his flail to the right side, the German, on the contrary, to the left.

XVII.

We have gone through the most important points of the history of Sleswick, as far as they concern the nationality. In much it has been a sorrowful history. In former times, in the days of antiquity and a great part of the middle ages, there was no difference between the Jutes to the North and South of Kongeaaen, between the Danes to the East and West of the little Belt. Danish was heard pure and unmixed from the Slie to Skagen; and as the language was, so were the customs, laws and institutions Danish, one feeling for their common fatherland embraced all. No one longed at that time for German, but met with sword or glave on Dannevirke or Margaret's wall to a manly defence against the hostile tribes of the South.

But it became otherwise. Holstein Counts became masters in South Jutland, and Holstein noblemen found it agreeable to dwell by Egernfiord and the Slie; they made Danish men and women their serfs and thralls, and at last deprived them of their mother tongue as they had deprived them of property and freedom. German Hanse-town merchants established themselves in the towns and appropriated to themselves the sources of the wealth and riches of the country. The German laws and the low German language now began to govern. The

Reformation came, which otherwise brought with it into all parts of the world emancipation from the thraldom of the mind and abuses of barbarism; truth, made known in the words ot the mother tongue in church and school, caused prejudice and error to yield. Thus it was in other places, but not so in South Jutland. Monkish Latin was expelled the church, but low German took its place, and the people gained nothing; they should now, as before, seek their edification in a language they did not understand. This barbarism of the middle ages has not, for a great part, disappeared in our days.

The teachers of congregations and the guides of youth, whose duty it was above all others, to defend and preserve those shoots which nature had implanted in the people, and by their development lead them on to that degree of cultivation which they, according to their peculiarities could reach, sinned most of all against the people's nature. They were the most active labourers in the work of destroying the language, and their workshops were the churches and the schools. Corporeal punishment was employed in the school when the children spoke that language which they had brought with them from their parents' home, and at times oaths and curses sounded in God's house from the lips of the clergyman against the full grown congregation, who would not forget their mother tongue. The public authorities went hand in hand with the endeavours of the clergy.

Thus it went on for many centuries and no one thought it could go further. But it went further. A humilitation was reserved for the Danish nation, that no one was prepared for. In that land where the Danish tongue was heard uncontrolled from the Slie to Kongeaaen; where it had been absolute in public and private

life, during the serious deliberations of men in the public parliament, in the administration of justice from the judgement seat, as well as in the familiar intercourse of the domestic circle: in that land it durst not longer be heard even as equal to the German in that hall, where the most important concerns of the country should be canvassed. Danish speeches should be entirely silenced according to the will of German rulers. Thereby the cup of bitterness was filled to the brim, this was the full measure of injustice. But now all Danes also perceived what the real question was, and had the opposition not been serious and energetic before, it now became so.

Such is the sorrowful picture that the past shows us. But we Danes need not to be disheartened, nor the Sleswicker to blush; he has defended his mother tongue honorably. The German nation, whose armies, with perjured rebels for their auxiliaries, lately passed beyond Dannevirke, have outraged the mother tongue of numerous tribes; in many places oppression has succeeded, in some places it has found resistance. But nowhere was the resistance so persevering, nowhere was the love for the mother tongue so rooted and immoveable, nowhere did its ever young and fresh life show such an inexhaustible power of resistance against aggressions, and nowhere has there been conquests so insignificant in proportion to the endeavours and the long period of time — (the Germans themselves confess it with astonishment) — as there, where Danish and German tried their strength with each other, to the North of Dannevirke and the Slie.

What have the Germans gained by all their endeavours and all their injustice? Sheriffs and bailiffs have governed in German, advocates conducted their causes and judges pronounced sentence in German, clergymen

preached and taught in German, schoolmasters imprinted German in Danish boys and girls with the cane and ferule. Thus it has gone on, day out and day in, year out and year in, and the years at last became many centuries. And yet the whole gain has not been greater for the Germans, than that the peasant must say: "I am educated in German, it is true, but I speak Danish"*). — But these words contain a world of wrongs. If we turn a little further towards the South, to the frontier districts, where to all the rest of hostile influences there came that power, which lies in the neighbourhood of Germanism and the daily intercourse with Germans, and where the combat has gone on, not during centuries, but in a millenary: how poor then is not Germany's gain, even here. The inhabitants of Swansöe and an inferior number of the Angles have, thanks to the Holstein nobility who took up their seats there, been compelled to see their mother tongue wrested from them, the former having defended it for many centuries and the latter during a millenary, or just up to the beginning of the present century.

More than the half part of the population of Sleswick still speak Danish, and they are not alone Danish in speech, but also in mind, habits and customs, and manner of thinking; they have memorials of antiquity, views of life, opinions and convictions in common with the whole Danish commonalty. Only a little more than a third part speak German, and this third part is formed for the very greatest part of the original German population between the Eider and the Slie, as well as of the Frisians; only a very proportionally small number won by conquest.

*) This is the usual answer one gets of the peasant, if one expresses astonishment at seeing German school and psalm books in his house, although he speaks Danish.

If even the German has forced its way into the country from some of the districts by the frontiers, and mixed itself with the Danish: then we must not forget that it sits very loosely on the surface. It is only a kind of mould that has been drawn over Danism in these parts, which have for a long time been removed from the effects of the common nationality. If natural circumstances and the fresh current of a common nationality be again allowed to act here, the mould will then disappear, as it only thrives in an impure and mixed air.

The German nationality, which would pass for that of the whole land, has in the last revolt produced an evidence of itself. When in our times a real nationality arises in order to deliver itself from oppressions, it has an immense power, which it is difficult for anything to resist. Every man flies to defend it, no sacrifice is avoided, the noblest powers devote themselves willingly, to gain a holy right for the people. This spectacle has been shown in several parts of Europe in our days. But it is not thus with the Sleswick-Holsteiners. Although they did not disdain to avail themselves of the meanest weapon of treachery, although the revolt came unexpectedly and by surprise, yet it fell to the ground after a three days campaign; no enthusiasm, no sacrifice on a great scale, no active participation from the people's side, showed that it was a national cause. Foreign bayonets were the resort and support of the rebels. Their own conduct has shown the world what it shall judge of them and their assertions.

The Danish people will therefore look towards the future with intrepidity and firmness. What is right, must surely triumph, if even its way goes through adversities.